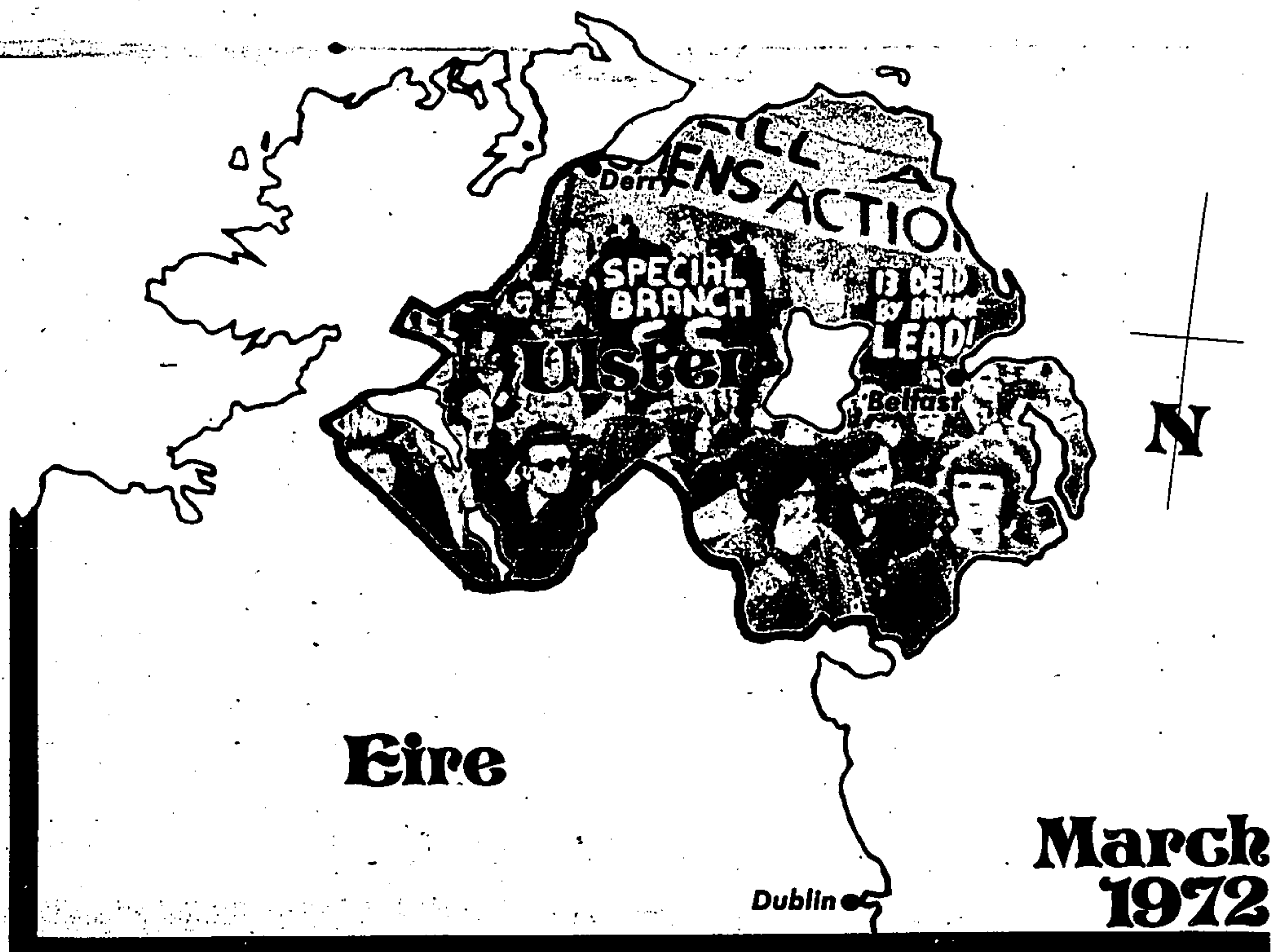


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a beginner's guide to the struggle in Ireland



A beginners guide to the struggle in Ireland grew out of a feeling that people in Canada are not receiving a complete understanding of the current conflict in Ulster, or more importantly, an understanding of the basis of that struggle.

Somehow, 13 people were shot one day during a civil rights march by British troops and the British Home Secretary complimented them on their performance. Somehow three days later, 50,000 people in Dublin burned the British embassy to the ground while 200 cops stood around and watched.

Over 250 people have been killed since the civil unrest escalated in the fall of 1969, and we are given the impression that Irish Republican Army "terrorists", as they are called, are responsible, either directly or indirectly for almost all of these deaths. But in spite of this, membership in the IRA continues to grow, and IRA operations continue with a significant amount of popular support in both the North and South of Ireland.

Even the Special Powers Act (Internment), enacted by the British Parliament last August, and through which over 800 persons have been arrested to date, has failed to curb the violence.

Goddamn religious fanatics!

But somehow, all these pieces don't quite fit together. And when we go back through the commercial media to try to gain a more complete understanding of the whole Irish conflict and the conditions that caused it, the pieces fit together even less.

The impetus to research and produce this paper came partly out of a real feeling of outrage and angry reaction to the Bloody Sunday (30 January 1972) killings of 13 civil rights marchers in the streets of Derry (called Londonderry by the colonialists) by British paratroopers determined to break up a demonstration of more than 20,000 people protesting internment.

Witnesses, including several members of parliament, called the killings murder, and outrage grew as Northern Ireland premier Brian Faulkner and British government leaders tried to throw the blame back onto the Civil Rights

Association and the IRA.

"The government knew that the IRA would use such marches wherever possible as a cover for their attacks on the population at large," said Faulkner.

Those who organized the march "must bear a terrible responsibility for having urged people to lawlessness and for having provided the IRA with the opportunity of again bringing death to our streets," he added.

But where is the real violence in Northern Ireland? In the guerilla activities of the IRA, or in an 800 year old system of colonial-domination, and housing, voting and job discrimination.

For the roots of violence in Ireland are hundreds of years old. And we have to begin to understand the violence of the IRA within that context.

But more importantly, we have to begin to realize and understand the other

responses of the Irish people, both Catholic and Protestant working class people in the South as well as the North, to the violence and oppression of the system.

The commercial media seldom, if ever, mention these other responses: the educational and organizing activities of the Civil Rights Association, the hundreds of peaceful marches and strikes, the organizing and political activity of the labour movement in both the North and the South, of Sinn Fein, the political arm of the Official IRA, or of People's Democracy. And the media never talks about the massive programs of civil disobedience through rent strikes and the withholding of gas and electricity payments as well as taxes.

Perhaps these aspects of the conflict just aren't newsworthy, but on the other hand, the commercial media could be helping to perpetrate the myth fostered by Britain and the Ulster ruling class that the conflict is merely religious in nature.

For the basis of the conflict is economic, and religion is used by the ruling elite and other conservative elements to keep Protestant and Catholic working class people from joining together to fight an unresponsive and ineffectual government at Stormont.


When we started to put this paper together, we had only a minimal understanding of the situation in Ireland, and we weren't exactly sure what kind of analysis our research would lead us to. This paper is the product of long hours of digging and research into the commercial and alternate press in England, Ireland, Canada and the U.S., as well as contacting people from England and Ireland, and anywhere else we could think of.

It wasn't all that easy. Finding information on Ireland was like researching Vietnam before it became socially acceptable to be against the war. There wasn't much to find.

Researching and trying to understand the Irish struggle has been a really good educational experience in itself, but we felt it is important to get the information and analysis out to people, partly to help create a better understanding of our own situation in Canada and Quebec. And it is important too, to be able to understand the struggles, pains and hopes of other people to be able to support them, when we can, in whatever way we can.

For the struggle in Ireland is a struggle for national liberation and self-determination, and that is the struggle of people everywhere.

a beginner's guide to the struggle in Ireland

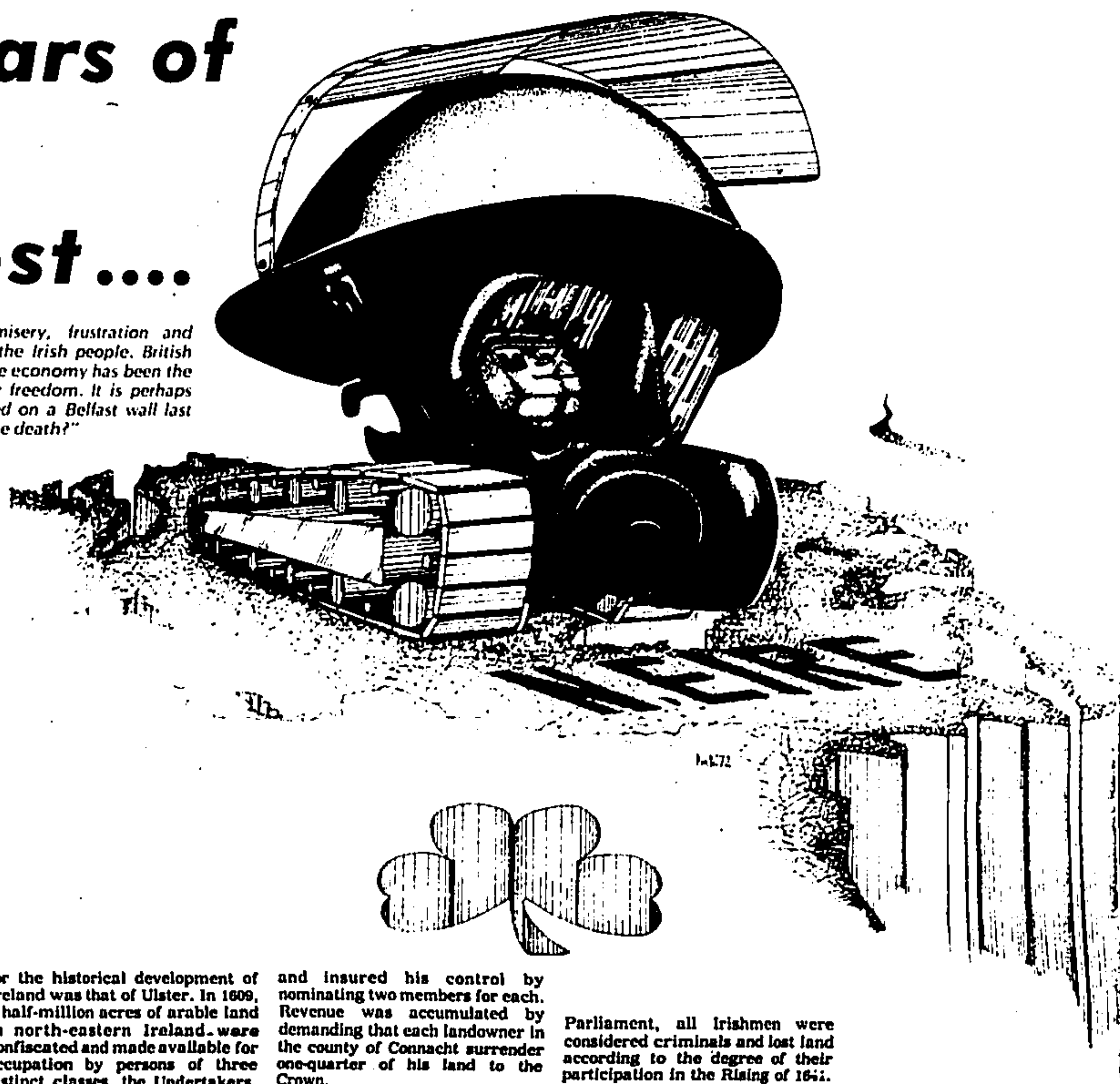


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803 years of British conquest....

It is impossible to convey the misery, frustration and hopelessness which are the lives of the Irish people. British domination of the land and then of the economy has been the focus of a life-and-death struggle for freedom. It is perhaps best summed up in a phrase scrawled on a Belfast wall last summer. It asked, "Is there a life before death?"



The first attempt made by the British to colonize Ireland occurred in 1169 when a Norman adventurer established a foothold at Dublin. Eventually the Gaelic clan chiefs recognized the king of England as a sort of 'master in name', but the relationship never became much more than a formal type of recognition—not until much later, anyway.

The Ireland of the 16th century was subjected to a severe process of anglicization through techniques aimed at the Irish clan chiefs. The choice for the Irish clan chief was simple: either he became a rent-hungry landlord on the English model, or he would be branded as a traitor, hanged as a rebel or driven into exile.

The English, however, did not have an easy time in anglicizing the Irish. Revolts continued into the 17th century and grew larger along with the repression growing more severe. Cattle were impounded and crops were destroyed resulting in a famine of appalling intensity.

Clearing the land

As the policy of establishing English landlordism in Ireland was drawing to a close, a new policy of "clearance and plantation" was undertaken. This involved "clearing" those areas that had not been left desolated by war and famine followed by auctions which distributed the land into large estates. However, the wealthy Englishmen who bought them had difficulty in persuading settlers to come from England. Finally, the original clansmen returned to work, under an English landlord, on the land they once owned.

Ulster plantation

The most crucial "plantation"

for the historical development of Ireland was that of Ulster. In 1609, a half-million acres of arable land in north-eastern Ireland were confiscated and made available for occupation by persons of three distinct classes, the Undertakers, the Servitors and the Natives. This last group, who were Irishmen and could only have Irish tenants, were allotted only one-tenth of the total amount of land.

Clearly, the motives behind the creation of this plantation were different from those of its predecessors. The size of the holdings and the fixed rents enabled England to build a garrison of planted colonists who would hold the Irish nation in check.

Finding suitable English or Scot tenants was not easy. Few people were willing to emigrate to Ireland unless the risks there appeared less formidable than those at home. Consequently, those who left England or Scotland were escaping from religious persecution, their creditors, the law or the mothers of their illegitimate offspring.

English revolution

At this period in history the English monarchy was being threatened by a rising bourgeoisie intent on obtaining freedom to trade and accumulate capital.

In order to strengthen the monarchy, the king, Charles I, turned to Ireland. The Earl of Strafford was sent as the Lord Deputy of the country. England's plan entailed a forced submission of the Irish people that would yield revenue, making the king independent of the English parliament.

Strafford unscrupulously undertook the accomplishment of these tasks. He created sixty new boroughs for the Irish parliament

and insured his control by nominating two members for each. Revenue was accumulated by demanding that each landowner in the county of Connacht surrender one-quarter of his land to the Crown.

Strafford paid particular attention to the raising, training and equipping of an army whose rank and file was Catholic and whose officers were English Protestant aristocrats.

Irish rebellion

In England, revolution and civil war were brewing. Strafford squeezed 180,000 pounds out of the Irish parliament for the king. He returned and parliament immediately had him arrested. He was executed in May 1641.

In the same year the Irish clans rose en masse. They drove the Protestant settlers off the plantations of Ulster and killed some 10,000 of them.

In England civil war broke out over the immediate question of who should control the army raised to crush the Irish rebels. In Ireland there were soon three armies in the field. The Catholic Confederation controlled most of Ireland. The king and the parliamentary party each held about three counties. The Confederation contained many Irish clansmen resisting their forcible anglicization but it was dominated by Anglo-Irish landlords.

In 7 years of war very little changed in Ireland. As the parliamentary party gained the upper hand in England, the Royalists and the Irish rebels were forced to make an alliance.

Cromwellian conquest

The aftermath of the war brought only hardship for the Irish people, for Cromwellian "justice" was severe. With the exception of those who fought for the English

Parliament, all Irishmen were considered criminals and lost land according to the degree of their participation in the Rising of 1641. Catholic landowners who possessed more than 50 acres were ordered to Connacht and became tenants there.

However, in the majority of cases, the Irish Catholic landlord was regarded by his tenants as a chief is by his kinsmen. Thus, when the landlord moved, his tenants followed leaving the land desolate. The English authorities could not tolerate this so they reversed their policy and allowed the Irish to return. The Catholic landlords found, on returning, that they had to surrender more land, pay a fee or become tenants on the land they had once owned.

English speculators bought and traded soldiers' rights to land enabling them to put together compact estates of tens of thousands of acres.

When the monarchy was restored in England there were hopes among the dispossessed proprietors that the land would be returned to their ownership. However, a restoration of the confiscated land would have to be made at the expense of wealthy Englishmen whom the king had no intention of offending. Thus, the situation remained unchanged.

In 1649 Cromwell arrived with the New Model Army to conquer Ireland yet again. He did the work with bloody efficiency. In 1652 Ireland was ready for settlement. The Commonwealth intended to pay its debts to its suppliers and the arrears of its soldiers with Irish land.

Succession of James

The succession of James II, a rabid Catholic, threatened the

privileges of most of the English upper class. In Ireland, James' succession was cause for hope. Less than three years after the beginning of James' reign, William of Orange was offered the throne. James was forced to flee to Ireland almost as soon as William landed. James raised an army but three years later lost Ireland as well as the rest of his kingdom.

The surrender terms guaranteed the Catholics "not less toleration" than they had before James' rule. However, the parliament of Ireland, made up solely of Protestants, insisted on laws confiscating the land of all Catholics who supported James. They also insisted "not less toleration" meant the worst previous conditions for Catholics were to be the best in the future.

Beginning in 1692, a number of Acts were passed by the Dublin Parliament, all levelled against the Catholics, which are known collectively as the Penal Code.

Among other restrictions, Catholics were barred from the vote, from entry into parliament, the municipal corporations, the learned professions (except medicine) and from commissions in the Army, the Navy and the civil service.

Catholics were subjected to special taxes, property restraints, and pressured into conforming to the Protestant church. The Catholic church was suppressed but became an underground organization.

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....landlords, famine, exploitation

From at least the reformation on, Ireland was a colony of England, her first, exploited as efficiently as possible, as ruthlessly as necessary.

Britain destroyed any Irish industry that competed successfully with British rivals, as a matter of policy.

In the 17th century a profitable Irish trade in fat cattle exported to England grew up. English graziers protested; the trade was prohibited. Ireland exported slaughtered carcasses; English butchers protested and the trade was banned. Finally, salt beef (and pork) in barrels was exported; and this trade being useful to the British navy was allowed to pass without protest. It became one of Ireland's staple industries.

Similar restraints were applied in every branch of Irish industry either eliminating the industry or reducing it to the state of complete dependence on Britain.

Middlemen

By 1700, rural Ireland was a country of Protestant landlords often living in England, gouging a Catholic peasantry. In some parts of Ulster the peasantry was Protestant. They were slightly better off than their Catholic neighbours.

The landlords were not the only parasites. The landlord's middleman did his gouging and took a cut for himself. There were often three or four levels of these picturesquely named 'rackmen'.

The Anglican clergy took a



tithe—10 percent of every peasant's harvest. The lay collector often racked the tithe as high as 25 percent. As many of the Protestants were not Anglicans, they resented this as much as the Catholics.

To add to the peasants' miseries a practice was introduced of putting tenancies up to auction when leases expired. The middleman often evicted the peasants and converted large parcels of land to grass farming.

Such a change-over on a large scale produced the first-recorded general uprising of the peasantry (1761) known as the White-boy conspiracy.

It first appeared near Limerick as a reply to an attempt by the landlords to enclose stretches of waste land which had been treated as common from time immemorial. This "waste" was indispensable to scores of peasants as grazing for their cows, sheep, goats, etc. The peasants suc-

cessfully prevented the enclosure and the landlords abandoned their attempt.

The movement developed into a permanent resistance to rack-renters, evictors, land-grabbers, tithe-proctors and landlord-employers who offered employment at less than a standard rate.

From 1761 to 1778 the landlords and the Authorities waged perpetual war against the Whiteboys. Military expeditions were led against them. Suspects were taken and hanged in scores.

The Society of United Irishmen was founded in 1791. The society, and the ideas it sponsored, spread rapidly. In 1792 the Catholic Committee, under the guidance of Theobald Wolfe Tone, called a representative convention, "the sole body competent to voice the opinions of Catholic Ireland". They delivered a petition demanding "equality with Protestants" to the king.

With a war with the French looming ahead London pressured the Irish oligarchy to make concessions. The petition was very popular with the smaller merchants and artisans of all faiths in Ireland. Had the Catholic Committee been more resolute, it might have obtained full equality. As it was, much of the penal code was replaced by the Catholic Relief Act.

In February 1793, before the Relief Act was passed, war was declared on France. The act was passed but the war became an

excuse for the repression of all opponents of the oligarchy.

By 1795, reactionary Protestant magistrates had stirred up constant fighting in Ulster between Catholic and Protestant peasant societies. That year the Orange Order was formed.

The motive actuating this "Protestant" villainy became unmistakable when it was seen that it was the most improved farms, on the best lands, which were first attacked, and whose occupants were first offered the alternative of "Hell or Connacht". To this day the richer soil in the valley-bottoms in Eastern Ulster is Protestant to the last half-acre while Catholics survive on every barren hill-top.

The repression by the Orangemen turned the Irish to a Jacobin conspiracy to free Ireland. Wolfe Tone sought and finally found support for the Irish cause in France. A French army of 15,000 men tried to land in 1796 but was forced back by constant gales.

The landlords quickly turned their own reign of terror. The Irish Parliament met and passed an Insurrection Act—"one of the most severe and comprehensive in Irish history".

It began with a campaign of terrorism in Armagh which devastated several counties. Many charges were laid: for possessing arms; for "tumultuous assembly"; or for possessing, distributing, or selling "seditious" papers and so on. Magistrates were given large powers of arrest on suspicion.

A Modest Proposal for Preventing the Children of Poor People in Ireland from Being a Burden to Their Parents or Country, and for Making Them Beneficial to the Public

by Jonathan Swift
(1728)

It is a melancholy object to those who walk through this great town, or travel in the country, when they see the streets, the roads and cabin-doors crowded with beggars of the female sex, followed by three, four, or six children, all in rags, and importuning every passenger for an alms. These mothers, instead of being able to work for their honest livelihood, are forced to employ all their time in strolling, to beg sustenance for their helpless infants, who, as they grow up, either turn thieves for want of work, or leave their dear native country to fight for the Pretender in Spain, or sell themselves to the Barbadoes.

I think it is agreed by all parties that this prodigious number of children, in the arms, or on the backs, or at the heels of their mothers, and frequently of their fathers, is in the present deplorable state of the kingdom a very great additional grievance; and therefore whoever could find out a fair, cheap, and easy method of making these children sound and useful members of the commonwealth would deserve so well of the public as to have his statue set up for a preserver of the nation.

But my intention is very far from being confined to provide only for the children of professed beggars; it is of a much greater extent, and shall take in the whole number of infants at a certain age who are born of parents in effect as little able to support them as those who demand our charity in the streets.

As to my own part, having turned my thoughts for many years upon this important subject, and maturely weighed the several schemes of other projectors, I have always found them grossly mistaken in their computation. It is true a child just dropped from its dam may be supported by her milk for a solar year with little other

nourishment, at most not above the value of two shillings, which the mother may certainly get, or the value in scraps, by her lawful occupation of begging, and it is exactly at one year old that I propose to provide for them, in such a manner as, instead of being a charge upon their parents, or the parish, or wanting food and raiment for the rest of their lives, they shall, on the contrary, contribute to the feeding and partly to the clothing of many thousands.

There is likewise another great advantage in my scheme, that it will prevent those voluntary abortions, and that horrid practice of women murdering their bastard children, alas, too frequent among us, sacrificing the poor innocent babes, I doubt, more to avoid the expense than the shame, which would move tears and pity in the most savage and inhuman breast.

The number of souls in Ireland being usually reckoned one million and a half, of these I calculate there may be about two hundred thousand couples whose wives are breeders, from which number I subtract thirty thousand couples who are able to maintain their own children, although I apprehend there cannot be so many under the present distresses of the kingdom, but this being granted, there will remain an hundred and seventy thousand breeders. I again subtract fifty thousand for those women who miscarry, or whose children die by accident or disease within the year. There only remain an hundred and twenty thousand children of poor parents annually born: the question therefore is, how this number shall be reared, and provided for, which, as I have already said, under the present situation of affairs is utterly impossible by all the methods hitherto proposed, for we can neither employ them in handicraft

or agriculture; we neither build houses (I mean in the country), nor cultivate land: they can very seldom pick up a livelihood by stealing until they arrive at six years old, except where they are of towardy parts, although I confess they learn the rudiments much earlier, during which time they can however be properly looked upon only as probationers, as I have been informed by a principal gentleman in the County of Cavan, who protested to me that he never knew above one or two instances under the age of six, even in a part of the kingdom so renowned for the quickest proficiency in that art.

I am assured by our merchants that a boy or a girl before twelve years old, is no saleable commodity, and even when they come to this age, they will not yield above three pounds, or three pounds and half-a-crown at most on the Exchange, which cannot turn to account either to the parents or the kingdom, the charge of nutriment and rags having been at least four times that value.

I shall now therefore humbly propose my own thoughts, which I hope will not be liable to the least objection.

I have been assured by a very knowing American of my acquaintance in London, that a young healthy child well nursed is at a year old a most delicious, nourishing and wholesome food, whether stewed, roasted, baked, or boiled, and I make no doubt that it will equally serve in a fricassee, or a ragout.

I do therefore humbly offer it to public consideration, that of the hundred and twenty thousand children already computed, twenty thousand may be reserved for breed, whereof only one fourth part to be males, which is more than we allow to sheep, black-cattle, or swine, and my reason is that these children are seldom the fruits of marriage, a circumstance not much regarded by our savages, therefore one male will be sufficient to serve four females. That the remaining hundred thousand may at a year old be offered in sale to the persons of quality, and fortune, through the kingdom, always advising the mother mother to let them suck plentifully in the last month, so as to render them plump, and fat for a good table. A child will make two dishes at an entertainment for friends, and when the family dines alone, the fore or hind quarter will make a reasonable dish, and seasoned with a little pepper or salt will be very good boiled on the fourth day, especially in winter.

I have reckoned upon a medium, that a child just born will weigh twelve pounds, and in a solar year if tolerably nursed increaseth to twenty-eight pounds.

and glorious empire....

Almost before the Act was passed the Administration had appointed General Lake, Military Commander for Ulster, and he had issued a proclamation imposing martial law over the greater part of the province.

Dublin Castle gave permission to the country magistrates to form corps of "Yeomanry" who were little else than Orange Lodges put into uniform and given an official licence to work their will upon the countryside in the name of law and order.

Arrests were made on the basis of suspicion. When the jails could hold no more they were cleared by "impressing" all the prisoners into the Fleet.

The United Irishmen

Despite the Orange campaign of 1797, The United Irishmen grew stronger. An uprising was planned for '98 but with the aid of an informer the government aborted it and imprisoned several leaders. Then they extended the Insurrection Act to all Ireland. The French landed a small army which was quickly defeated; another expedition was caught and forced to surrender at sea. Wolfe Tone, a protestant and chief instigator of the uprising was captured and hanged.

The landlords repressive campaign after '98 was worse than that of '95. It finally petered out in 1806.

In 1801 Ireland and England were united under a single parliament. This allowed England

to control the more dangerous excesses of the landlords and to see that Ireland did not become an economic rival.

The industrial revolution in England brought on a new stage in her domination of Ireland. England's strength in manufacturing and Ireland's relative weakness were concrete conditions which determined Ireland's failure in economic competition.

Inexorably Ireland was forced back upon the role of feeder to England's economic superiority; supplying it with cheap foodstuffs, with raw materials, and cheap labour as well as investment capital wrung from the Irish people in the form of rent and tithes.

In the general election of 1826 for the first time large numbers of tenants in 3 or 4 ridings refused to vote as their landlords directed. In retaliation, they evicted all tenants in arrears—over 90 percent. Daniel O'Connell, head of the Catholic Association launched a "Campaign for Catholic Emancipation". He organized a mass petition which drew a million and a half signatures from all over Ireland.

O'Connell then won a by-election for County Clare. The government recognized that further resistance to all Catholic demands would cause serious trouble.

Accordingly, the government, in 1829, passed liberalizing legislation that allowed Catholics to enter parliament but reaffirmed its opposition to the Catholic Association.

The tithes were an old grievance

in Ireland. In 1831 a particularly obnoxious parson against all custom tried to collect the tithe from the parish priest. The people refused to pay any tithes. The tithe war soon spread across Ireland. In the bloodiest fray, 11 policemen were killed at Carrickshock, while trying to collect the tithe. The peasants also suffered severely. The outbreaks were serious enough to have the government rush troops to Ireland.

The temporary settlement was to reduce the tithe then being assessed by 25 percent. The remainder became a percentage of the rent payable by the landlord to the clergy. They could legally add it to the rent owed them. The peasants solidarity intimidated many landlords, however.

The 1830's and 40's were years of rising national consciousness and parliamentary agitation. In 1843 the government forbade a mass

assembly (hundreds of thousands were expected) at Clontarf. They threatened to use the army to stop it. The leadership cancelled the march. The more militant of the rank and file of the radical movement became very disillusioned with parliamentary politics.

Underlying and conditioning the political events of 1845-50 was the great calamity which the English called the Irish Famine but which the Irish called The Great Starvation.

The reasons being failure of the potato crop in Ireland in 1845, 1846, and 1847 causing large scale death from hunger, hunger-typhus, and cholera. Death and emigration reduced the population of Ireland by one-third in ten years.

In the "famine" years Ireland produced grain, cattle, dairy-produce, etc. in abundance. No disease afflicted these foodstuffs.

The landlord and the tax collector not merely took their tribute as usual but also took the occasion to squeeze out arrears due. The amount of corn, cattle, etc. exported from Ireland in these years would have fed all those who hungered twice over. Therefore, the Irish are quite right when they say: "God sent the blight; but the English landlords sent the Famine!"

A sovereign English remedy was emigration. The ships were overcrowded, sanitation was bad, the emigrants were insufficiently supplied with money, food or clothing. They were rich only in the germs of typhus and cholera they carried. Soon the worst horrors of the famine were being reproduced in the emigrant ships on the high seas.

By 1848 an insurrection was planned for the fall. The British,

—continued on page 6



I grant this food will be somewhat dear, and therefore very proper for landlords, who, as they have already devoured most of the parents, seem to have the best title to the children.

Infant's flesh will be in season throughout the year, but more plentiful in March, and a little before and after, for we are told by a grave author, an eminent French physician, that fish being a prolific diet, there are more children born in Roman Catholic countries about nine months after Lent than at any other season; therefore reckoning a year after Lent, the markets will be more glutted than usual, because the number of Popish infants is at least three to one in this kingdom, and therefore it will have one other collateral advantage by lessening the number of Papists among us.

I have already computed the charge of nursing a beggar's child (in which list I reckon all cottagers, labourers, and four-fifths of the farmers) to be about two shillings per annum, rags included, and I believe no gentleman would repine to give two shillings for the carcass of a good fat child, which, as I have said, will make four dishes of excellent nutritive meat, when he hath only some particular friend or his own family to dine with him. Thus the Squire will learn to be a good landlord and grow popular among his tenants, the mother will have eight shillings net profit, and be fit for work until she produces another child.

Those who are more thrifty (as I must confess the times require) may flay the carcass; the skin of which artificially dressed, will make admirable gloves for ladies, and summer boots for fine gentlemen.

As to our city of Dublin, shambles may be appointed for this purpose, in the most convenient parts of it, and butchers we may be assured will not be wanting, although I rather recommend buying the children alive, and dressing them hot from the knife, as we do roasting pigs.

Some persons of a desponding spirit are in great concern about that vast number of poor people, who are aged, diseased, or maimed, and I have been desired to employ my thoughts what course may be taken to ease the nation of so grievous an encumbrance. But I am not in the least pain upon that matter, because it is very well known that they are every day dying, and rotting, by cold, and famine, and filth, and vermin, as fast as can be reasonably expected. And as to the younger labourers they are now in almost as hopeful a condition. They cannot get work, and consequently pine away from want of nourishment, to a degree that if at any time they are accidentally hired to common labour, they have not

strength to perform it; and thus the country and themselves are in a fair way of being soon delivered from the evils to come.

As I have already observed, it would greatly lessen the number of Papists, with whom we are yearly over-run, being the principal breeders of the nation, as well as our most dangerous enemies, and who stay at home on purpose with a design to deliver the kingdom to the Pretender, hoping to take their advantage by the absence of so many good Protestants, who have chosen rather to leave their country than stay at home and pay tithes against their conscience to an idolatrous Episcopal curate.

Supposing that one thousand families in this city would be constant customers for infants flesh, besides others who might have it at merry meetings, particularly weddings and christenings; I compute that Dublin would take off annually about twenty thousand carcasses, and the rest of the kingdom (where probably they will be sold somewhat cheaper) the remaining eighty thousand.

I can think of no one objection that will possibly be raised against this proposal, unless it should be urged that the number of people will be thereby much lessened in the kingdom. This I freely own, and it was indeed one principal design in offering it to the world. I desire the reader will observe, that I calculate my remedy for this one individual Kingdom of Ireland, and for no other than ever was, is, or, I think, ever can be upon earth. Therefore let no man talk to me of other expedients: Of taxing our absentees at five shillings a pound: Of using neither clothes, nor household furniture, except what is of our own growth and manufacture: Of utterly rejecting the materials and instruments that promote foreign luxury: Of curing the expensiveness of pride, vanity, idleness, and gaming in our women: Of introducing a vein of parsimony, prudence, and temperance: Of learning to love our country, wherein we differ even from Laplanders, and the inhabitants of Topinamboo: Of quitting our animosities and factions, nor act any longer like the Jews, who were murdering one another at the very moment their city was taken: Of being a little cautious not to sell our country and consciences for nothing: Of teaching landlords to have at least one degree of mercy towards their tenants. Lastly, of putting a spirit of honesty, industry, and skill into our shopkeepers, who, if a resolution could now be taken to buy only our native goods, would immediately unite to cheat and exact upon us in the price, the measure and the goodness, nor could ever yet be brought to make one fair proposal of just dealing, though often and earnestly invited to it.

Therefore I repeat, let no man talk to me of these and the like expedients, till he hath at least a glimpse of hope that there will ever be some hearty and sincere attempt to put them in practice.

But as to myself, having been wearied out for many years with offering vain, idle, visionary thoughts, and at length utterly despairing of success, I fortunately fell upon this proposal, which as it is wholly new, so it hath something solid and real, of no expense and little trouble, full in our own power, and whereby we can incur no danger in dissolving England. For this kind of commodity will not bear exportation, the flesh being of too tender a consistence to admit a long continuance in salt, although perhaps I could name a country which would be glad to eat up our whole nation without it.

After all I am not so violently bent upon my own opinion as to reject any offer, proposed by wise men, which shall be found equally innocent, cheap, easy and effectual. But before some thing of that kind shall be advanced in contradiction to my scheme, and offering a better, I desire the author, or authors, will be pleased maturely to consider two points. First, as things now stand, how they will be able to find food and raiment for a hundred thousand useless mouths and backs? And secondly, there being a round million of creatures in human figure, throughout this kingdom, whose whole subsistence put into a common stock would leave them in debt two millions of pounds sterling; adding those who are beggars by profession, to the bulk of farmers, cottagers, and labourers with their wives and children, who are beggars in effect; I desire those politicians who dislike my overture, and may perhaps be so bold to attempt an answer, that they will first ask the parents of these mortals whether they would not at this day think it a great happiness to have been sold for food at a year old, in the manner I prescribe, and thereby have avoided such a perpetual scene of misfortunes as they have since gone through, by the oppression of landlords, the impossibility of paying rent without money or trade, the want of common sustenance, with neither house nor clothes to cover them from the inclemencies of weather, and the most inevitable prospect of entailing the like, or greater miseries upon their breed for ever.

I profess in the sincerity of my heart that I have not the least personal interest in endeavouring to promote this necessary work, having no other motive than the public good of my country, by advancing our trade, providing for infants, relieving the poor, and giving some pleasure to the rich. I have no children by which I can propose to get a single penny; the youngest being nine years old, and my wife past childbearing.

....1169 to 1972....

however, did not wait. The whole thing fizzled out before it got properly started.

Until 1832 the English landed-oligarchy controlled the English government absolutely. From 1846 onwards the manufacturing capitalists gained increasingly a preponderance, until from the 1870's they in turn gave way to the imperialist finance-capitalists. The fall in world prices for agricultural goods meant increased to cover the fall in monetary returns. Hence arose that drive towards the "consolidation" of the farms which was facilitated drastically by the calamity of the Famine.

The getting rid of the smallholders was a necessary precondition for the establishment of capitalist farming on any considerable scale, and this was necessary to compete with the growing yields from the wheat fields of America. Cheap labour was required for this type of far-

ming, and a supply of cheap labour was created by the "consolidation" which cleared estates of their "superfluous" small tenants.

Between 1848 and 1916 Ireland was relatively peaceful. All the old forms of resistance continued. The Irish Republican Brotherhood (the Fenians) tried, with the support of many Irish-Americans, to mount a rebellion in Ireland. Their military failure was complete. Politically they helped build modern Irish nationalism.

The old Whiteboys were still an important force in the countryside. The only force the peasants controlled. Throughout this period wheat, cattle and other foods from the Americas, Australia and Russia forced prices down. Rents stayed high.

Forced emigration

Peasants, forced off the land, usually had no choice except emigration. Many of these

emigrants came to Canada with great hopes for the promised "free land" available to anyone who would work it. After 1870, they were to be very disappointed. The free land policy had changed. The business class in Canada needed a cheap labor force for their factories and so had placed an "artificial" price on land to keep immigrants in the cities.

After 200 years of systematic underdevelopment the Irish got free trade with England as England was entering the industrial revolution. England, however, continued to exploit Ireland mercilessly.

The dominant force in Irish politics in the late 19th century was Charles Parnell. His method was the obstruction of parliament. His goal was home rule, though he knew once home rule was restored, Ireland might well go further. Although he seemed to come close several times, home rule always slipped away.

The Fenians remained in

existence but were usually inactive. The Land League was launched by Michael Davitt, a member of the Fenians Supreme Council. Parnell was president of the League. The League helped significantly to alleviate the famine of '79 by preventing the worst activities of the landlords and raising a relief fund in America.

The League fought to have rents reduced by ostracizing and withholding services from uncooperative landlords and fellow tenants who broke ranks. Captain Boycott made his name famous by complaining to the 'Times'.

The government introduced a Coercion Bill (a bill like the War Measures Act), but this crisis was resolved by a political deal not another repression in Ireland.

The death of Parnell in 1891 dealt all the independence movement a strong setback.

From about 1870 the falling price of agricultural products lowered

the price of land. The government passed laws allowing tenants to buy their lands for about twice market value. Then they gave the landlords special subsidies to sweeten the pill.

The Irish Socialist Republican Party (a Marxist group) was founded in 1896. Though always small, it had considerable influence on the Fenians.

In 1911 the Irish parliamentary was finally able to get a home rule bill with a chance of passing. The most reactionary wing of the Tories organized an armed opposition in Ulster. In 1913 The Republicans also organized a small army.

In 1916 Connally and his men took over the G.P.O. in Dublin on Easter Monday morning. As much as anything the Easter-week rising was intended to show the British were still the same savages they had always been. They co-operated willingly, crushed the rebellion and hanged or imprisoned most of the leadership.

Bernadette: her life and politics

Because of his family's poverty, my father left school when he was eleven and became a messenger boy, an unpaid messenger boy. Or at least, he was paid in kind: instead of wages he earned some of the family's weekly groceries. But he was clever enough to see there was no future in this, and when he was fourteen or so he apprenticed himself to a carpenter and got himself a trade.

Over the years he worked on and off in Northern Ireland, but mostly he had to go to England to find work. To begin with this was merely because there was no work in the North of Ireland, but later—when I was already at school—he was forced to go to England because his insurance card was stamped with the words 'Political Suspect' and nobody would employ him.

If it hadn't been for the fact that I had an essentially Christian background from my mother, poverty would have made me bitter rather than socialist, and I knew of politics would have made me mad Republican. This is the common situation in Northern Ireland: if you don't have basic Christianity rather than merely religion, all you get out of the experience if living is bitterness.

The political lessons I learned as a child came in indirect ways, through poetry and history, until I went, at the age of ten, to a madly Republican grammar school. If my father had any real involvement in politics, I never knew about it, but one circumstance suggests that maybe he had. He died in August 1956, just at the beginning of what the Unionists called 'the IRA terrorist campaign', which lasted five or six years, with sporadic outbreaks of violence and attempts at sabotage and so forth.

At that time it was quite common to hear the sirens beginning to wail at night, up and down, up and down, as it must have been for airraid alerts during the war. As soon as the sirens started, doors in our neighbourhood would open and our neighbours appear, pulling on their heavy coats and shouldering their sten guns. Most of the Protestant men in our district were B-men, or Specials—members of the civilian militia in Northern Ireland which was formed to fight the IRA.

So while some of my friends' daddies were disappearing into their houses to lie low, other people's daddies were setting out after them. At times like those the tragic division in Northern Ireland split even wider to set the Protestant working class against the Catholic working class,

while the church and the Catholic middle-class nationalists threw up their hands in horror at the freedom fighters, and stood solidly behind the government.

When I was in my first year of grammar school, I had a long-playing record, The Rebel, on which the actor, Michael MacLiammoir, recited the works of Padraig Pearse, one of the martyrs of 1916. I thought it was great stuff and played it over and over again, and the more I listened to it the more I became convinced that although MacLiammoir had put it over as a work of art, he had failed to convey the true emotion of a patriot saying what he felt. Anyway, I learned three pieces from the record for the three heats of the talent competition, and they were all very militant. The Rebel ends:

'I say to the master of my people
'Beware the risen people who will take
what you would not give!'

Another piece I chose was The Fool, which has this passage:

'But the fools, the fools! They have left
us our Fenian dead! While Ireland holds
these graves, Ireland unfree will never be
at rest.'

And the third and final choice was Robert Emmet's speech from the dock before his execution in 1804.

Well, off I went and recited this fighting stuff at the talent competition, and I recited it well, went through the three heats, and won the first prize. Cookstown was outraged. During the three weeks of the competition, the horror grew. 'Imagine the daughter of Lizzie Devlin having the cheek to go down there and say a thing like that! That comes from her father's side of the family.'

We learned Irish history. People who went to Protestant schools learned British history. We were all learning the same things, the same events, the same period of time, but the interpretations we were given were very different. At the state school they teach that the Act of Union was brought about to strengthen the trade agreements between England and Ireland. We were taught that it was a malicious attempt to bleed Ireland dry of her linen industry which was affecting British cotton.

Among the best traitors Ireland has ever had, Mother Church ranks at the very top, a massive obstacle in the path to equality and freedom. She has been a force for conservatism, not on the basis of preserving Catholic doctrine or prevent the corruption of her children but simply to

ward off threats to her own security and influence...In the North the churches, both Catholic and Protestant, should have been campaigning for the dignity of the people years and years ago. They never did. They should have been making some effort to break down religious sectarianism in the country. They did nothing.

The Reverend Ian Paisley, self-styled moderator of the Free Presbyterian Church of Ulster, is to my mind a dangerous man and an influence for evil. When the Protestant working class realize—as I believe they're beginning to—that the Unionist Party doesn't serve their interests, their normal reaction is to move to the left, either into the Northern Ireland Labour Party or to become the most militant socialists of the lot of us. Paisley's aim is to secure the Protestant working class support for himself, thus preventing it from moving left. For the Reverend Ian Paisley does not hate Catholics as he appears to: what he hates are socialists.

Between October 5th and the end of 1968, People's Democracy, and I along with it, moved gradually and inexorably left. We had started off without any political affiliation, with very little political awareness even; the majority attitude then could be summed up as a sort of liberal belief in the need for justice. And, of course, we were pretty inexperienced.

The more demonstrations we organized, the more we became convinced of the usefulness of the non-violent method: it baffled the police, it baffled the Paisleyites, and it gave us each time a further lesson in self-discipline, which prepared us for the next stage. If we hadn't learned those lessons in the weeks from October to December, we wouldn't have survived the Long March to Derry.

The move leftwards had begun by the end of October, and it was due to the simple fact that the most effective solutions to the problems we discussed always turned out to be the solutions offered by the left.

We educated ourselves into socialism. Night after night we sat down to four-hour-long meetings to discuss every aspect of every Northern Ireland problem: why we couldn't get through to the Protestant working class; what we should do to try to get through to them; why, when we made reasonable demands and stuck to them, some of our friends should turn around and call us mindless militants; how could we enlist responsible support and not remain a student-oriented organization looking inward on student society.

What we must make clear at all times is that we are fighting for the economic rights of an underprivileged people, not to win back the Six Counties for Ireland. Economically, I believe, the South of Ireland is worse off than we are, and I hope that as we step up the struggle in Ulster, there will be those in the south who will step up the struggle there.

This is maybe just ideological talk. It will take a long time to achieve anything. And, in the end, I believe, it will come to a clash—for at no time have those in authority relinquished their position without a struggle. But when it comes to that, it must be fought not in the Six Counties by Catholics, but in Ireland as a whole by the working class. Only if it's an all-Ireland working class revolution are there enough of us to overthrow the powers that be.

My function in life is not to be a politician in Parliament: it is to get something done. Though I didn't succeed in making it clear to my constituents, I soon satisfied myself that the whole grinding procedure of Parliament worked too slowly to be of any material use to the people of Mid-Ulster, and that Westminster, anyway, was basically indifferent to the problems of Northern Ireland. You can do a lot of talking, but nobody's listening, not in Westminster at any rate.

The sort of political development I want to take part in is the growth of militancy from consistent positive action against the Establishment. I would like to see mass squatting campaigns—not only in Ireland, for Ireland doesn't have a monopoly of the housing problem. This has already begun in Derry.

In Derry last summer the Derry Labour Party found out who was getting new houses, then went round to these people and asked them to say when they were moving out of their old home, so that the squatters could move somebody in. Only a few outgoing tenants were not prepared to help. In some cases they were vacating their homes because the house was condemned, but often the old house was due to lie empty for years waiting for some grand development scheme to catch up with the area, and meanwhile deliberately kept vacant by the local authority.

In all cases, the houses were better lodgings than those the squatters came from. But the local council, to prevent illegal tenants coming in, would send round a man with a sledge-hammer to rip up the staircase. That is why it was important to know when the outgoing tenants planned to move.

...it's about time the sun set

The British repression of 1916 did not crush the republican movement in Ireland. Patrick Pearse, a member of the Volunteer force which fought for Irish independence, expressed this truth in his speech over the grave of O'Donovan Rossa who was killed in the middle of 1915:

"Life springs from death and from the graves of patriot men and women spring nations."

"The Defenders of the Realm have worked well in secret and in the open. They think they have pacified Ireland. They think they have purchased half of us and intimidated the other half. They think they have foreseen everything, think they have provided against everything; but—the fools! the fools! the fools!"

"They have left us our Fenian dead, and while Ireland holds these graves, Ireland, unfree, shall never be at peace!"

Pearse also died in 1916.

In 1918, the British government attempted to impose conscription, which very nearly led to further open conflict. Eventually the British government delayed until after the war was over and conscription never was imposed.

In the December 1918 election, the Sinn Féin elected 70 of Ireland's 107 members to the British parliament on a platform of immediate independence. Refusing to take their seats at Westminster, the Sinn Féiners remained in Dublin as the national assembly of an independent Irish republic, setting up their own legislative and legal systems, and their own army, the Irish Republican Army (IRA).

For the next three years the IRA waged full-scale war against the British. As the British forces became more and more isolated in Ireland, their tactics became more and more violent, culminating in the Black and Tan terror of 1920.

At the same time, in Belfast, inflammatory propaganda meetings suggested that the Catholics were "taking away the jobs of the Protestants". The post-war unemployment crisis gave point to the propaganda, which in turn provided a basis for the staging of a series of pogroms aimed at forcing the Catholics out of the industrial areas completely. The Catholics were driven from the factories; the Catholic quarter was looted and burned, many were killed, hundreds wounded and thousands left homeless.

Treaty and partition

Finally in 1921, a truce was made in Southern Ireland and negotiations were begun between the British government and a delegation from the Free State. The treaty which was finally arrived at, was forced on the Irish delegation. They had the choice of accepting the treaty or all-out war with Britain within three days.

Included in the treaty was virtual complete self-government for the twenty-six counties, although it did insist upon an oath of allegiance to King and Empire for all members of the Irish parliament. The six counties were given the 'option' of coming into the arrangement, and a boundary clause providing for the revision of the boundary between Northern Ireland and the Free State "in

accordance with the wishes of the people".

Partition was not accepted by a large segment of the republican movement, and civil war followed. The Free Staters defeated the republicans, through heavy British backing, and the IRA became an outlawed, underground organization.

After the civil war, the Free State government made approaches for the appointment of a boundary commission.

The Northern Ireland Government refused to consider the question. The English government eventually appointed a representative and nominated one for the Six Counties. These two, with a representative of the Free State, constituted a Boundary Commission.

After a great parade of "investigation" the commission let it be known that "by a majority" it had decided to act on two principles (1) Northern Ireland had been established for "so long" that changes were undesirable; (2) nothing should be done to worsen the economic position of Northern Ireland.

In short, the treaty-stipulated consideration, "the wishes of the inhabitants", was to be ignored; and the net outcome would be that the Boundary would be altered, if at all, to add territory and population to Northern Ireland.

The British Government seized the chance to drive a bargain with the Free State government, which included the cancellation of the Boundary Clause altogether.

Thus in 1925 Partition was finally consummated.

De Valera

Until 1927, republicans under the leadership of De Valera had, if elected to the government, refused to take the required oath and had been kept from taking their seats in the Dail. When, in 1927, they finally took the oath, a split occurred between those claiming to be the old IRA and Sinn Féin and De Valera and his supporters. Accordingly, De Valera founded a new party, the Fianna Fail (soldiers of destiny). This party came to power in 1932, and has been in power ever since.

Despite attempts by the Free State government to develop the economy of Southern Ireland, through expanding trade with other countries and protective industrial tariffs, the country remains very poor and very dependent on Britain economically. This is exemplified by Premier Lynch's statement recently, that a boycott on British goods would have little effect on the British economy, but even partial retaliation by Britain would wreak havoc in Ireland.

Politically, the Fianna Fail has pursued a policy of turning a blind eye to the activities of the IRA in southern Ireland while approaching the question of reunification of Ireland from a parliamentary position. Recently, however, the Free State government has begun to succumb to the pressures of the British government, and has arrested several leaders of the IRA who were based in southern Ireland.

This position is perhaps un-

derstandable in light of the fact that the IRA policy is turning more and more toward socialism and those involved in the struggle for a socialist Ulster are beginning to see the necessity for that struggle in all Ireland.

In Northern Ireland, Unionist and British policy has long used religious prejudice to keep the poor divided. Protestant workers, paid lower than anywhere else in the United Kingdom, still remain a peg above Catholic workers.

Suffering economic depression and political repression, a half-million Catholics have fled North Ireland in the last 20 years. Had they stayed they would have become the majority in the six northern counties. Economic discrimination in Ulster, thus, is essential to preserve a Protestant majority. By forcing Catholic emigration, it offsets the higher Catholic birthrate.

Unemployment

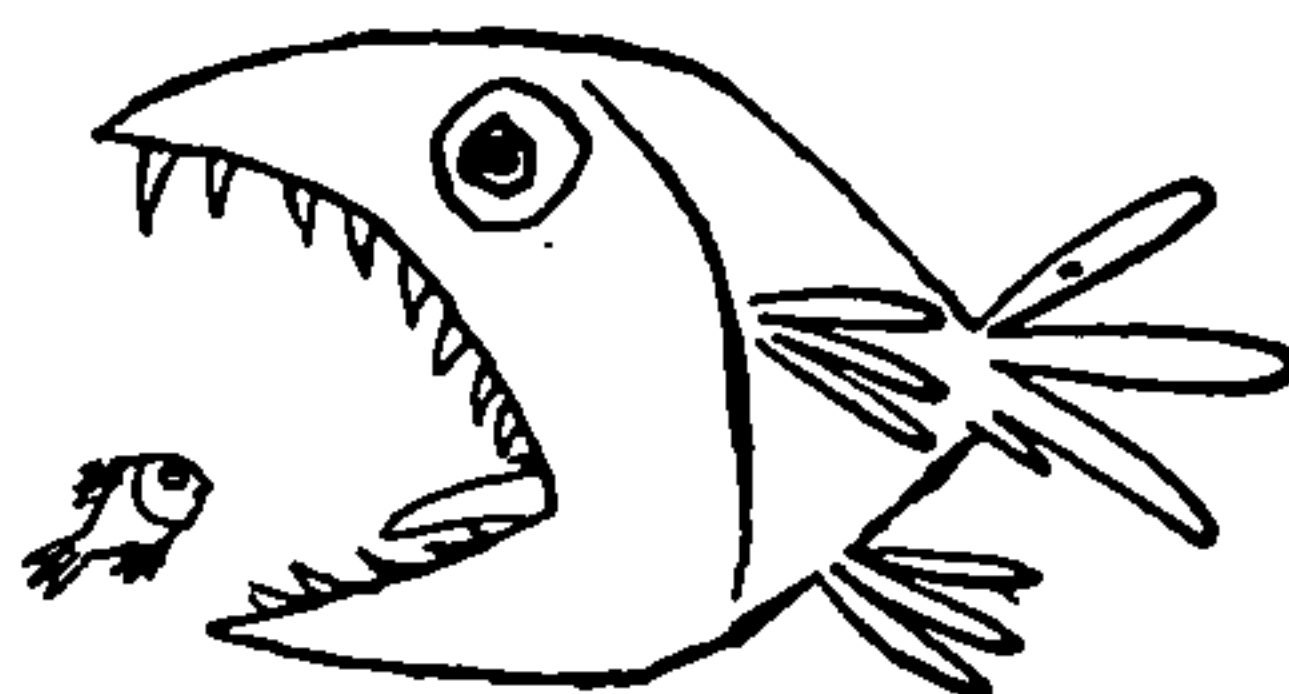
The Ulster Catholic population has been decimated for the simple reason that there are no jobs: Catholic male unemployment in Derry is 28 percent; in Dungannon 23 percent; in Belfast 17 percent. (These are the most conservative estimates; most people in the street estimate as much as three times these figures. In some areas, like the South Falls ghetto of Belfast, the majority are unemployed. All these figures are from before last August's crisis and the subsequent urban warfare and resulting lack of economic investment.)

The dole and other welfare measures of the British government are the major incentives to Ulstermen to remain loyal to Westminster. For those employed, weekly wages in the North average \$45 for men, \$28 for women. (Again, these are the most charitable estimates.) In the South things are a bit worse; wages are in the neighborhood of \$38 for men, \$21 for women, a very poor neighborhood indeed.

Ulster's two main industries, shipbuilding and linen, are decaying, no longer able to compete in the world market even relying on cheap labor. Only 8000 ship workers remain of the 40,000 employed 25 years ago and there are constant rumors and threats by ownership that the shipyards will close down altogether. Figures in the linen industry are similar: from 60,000 workers in 1951 to the present 30,000.

The six counties of the North remain one of the few places in the world that retains a property requirement for voting. A quarter-million people, 25 percent of the adult population, are thereby disfranchised. In Belfast, 23 percent of the citizenry has been on the waiting-list for homes for 20 years. In Derry, only 500 new homes have been built in the last half-century, almost all reserved for Unionist voters.

Catholic families, generally larger than Protestant, have another cross to bear: no matter the size of family, only the one whose name the property is registered is allowed to vote. In Derry, Unionists, representing only a third of the population, occupy 60 percent of the council



seats. In Lurgan, no Catholic has ever been elected to the city council, although they constitute 40 percent of the population.

Special powers act

Such a regime must be maintained by force, which explains the current concentration camps and their 800 prisoners. (An equivalent per capita figure for Canada would be over 10,000.) The government also has at its disposal its Special Powers Act. A remarkable piece of legislation, whose virtues have led South African Prime Minister Vorster to remark that he'd prefer it to all of his own repressive laws, it was originally enacted in 1922 against the IRA and makes Canada's War Measures look pale in comparison.

Under the act, authorities are empowered to: arrest without warrant; imprison without trial; deny the right of habeas corpus; enter homes any hour without a warrant; prohibit meetings and processions; permit flogging; deny trial by jury; jail people for refusing to answer incriminating questions; hold prisoners incommunicado; prohibit an inquest after a prisoner's death; prohibit circulation of any newspaper and possession of any film or recording (the sale of United Irishman, the Sinn Féin newspaper, brings six months' imprisonment; sale of an Easter Lily flower, symbol of the 1916 Easter Rising, is punishable by two years' imprisonment); arrest anyone who does anything "calculated to be prejudicial to the preservation of peace or maintenance of order." Obviously the present internment means the Special Powers Act is in full effect.

If the Catholic working class of Ulster didn't have enough problems, it now faces a virtual army of hostile law officers, over and above the 14,000 British occupation troops. (Again, to understand the significance, this is as if 1.9 million foreign troops were stationed in Canada to "preserve the peace.") The 3500-man Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) is the largest armed police force in the United Kingdom and it is de facto directed by the Orange Order. A supplementary government-sponsored militia, the Orange-controlled B-specials numbering 10,000, were "disbanded" over a year ago in a "reform measure." The B-specials were fitted for uniform, issued a rifle or sten gun and sent home, to be called upon when the need arose.

IRA-NLF

The IRA conducted a guerrilla campaign from 1956 to 1962, aimed

at eliminating the border between the south and the north. This campaign failed miserably, and, with the release of Cathal Goulding from prison in 1964, the IRA began a re-examination of its policies. Goulding described the failure of the IRA guerrilla campaign as resulting from the fact that they "moved through the people like fish through the desert."

Goulding, in opposition to his Provisional opponents, holds that politics is primary; but that, without a military wing, the struggle for power is futile; the armed struggle will be necessary to take power and that armed actions in the present phase help the movement go forward.

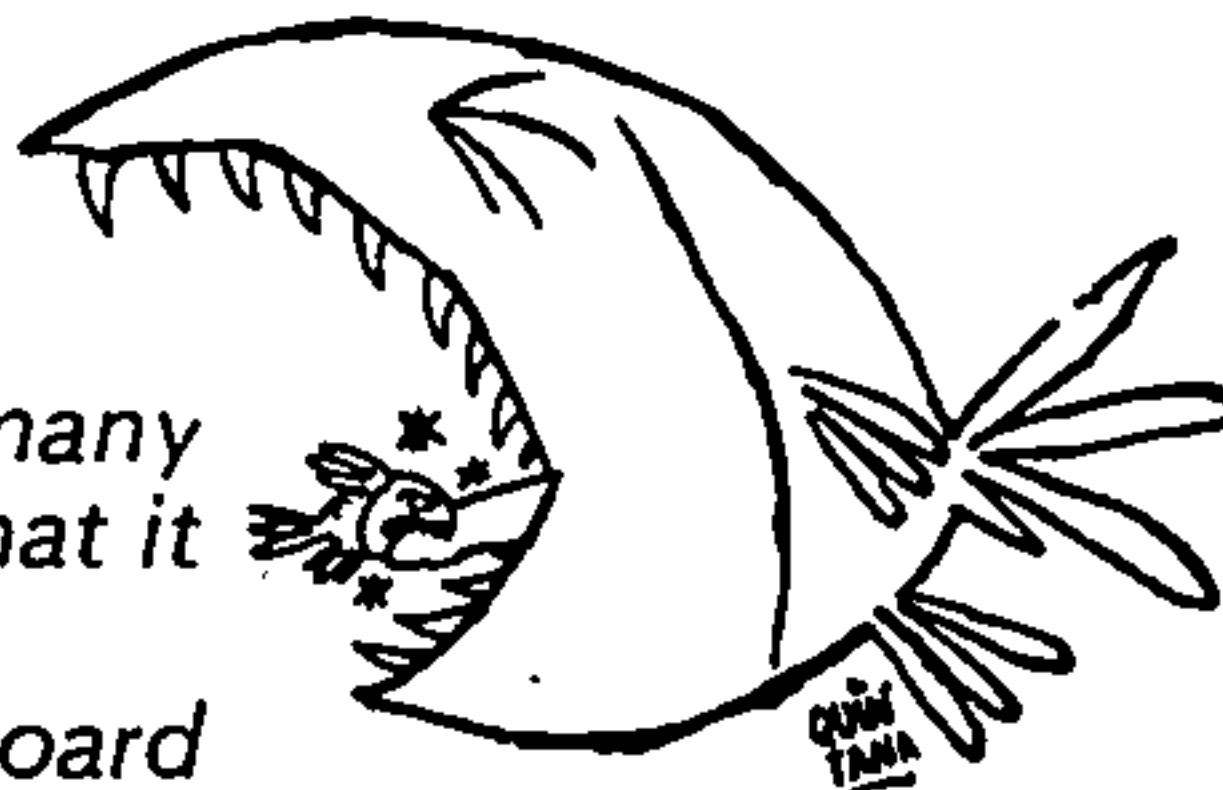
Hardly a week goes by without a series of important actions; scab trucks destroyed trying to break a strike; large, land estates destroyed (or threatened) when bought up by capitalist combines at the expense of poor farmers; British rail or airline offices taken over in protest of Irish political prisoners being held in England; a mass fish-in movement against the robbery of national lakes and streams by British and American estates; homeless squatters settled in unoccupied apartment buildings until the government will care for them. With the massive unemployment in this, the poorest country in Europe except for Portugal (over 20 percent of the population is forced to work in England to feed their families at home), unemployment councils are being organized.

British internment in the North is a failure. Since August, over 150 have been killed in sporadic warfare. Threats of internment in the south by the government against the Republican movement will also fail.

From time to time, the official IRA has put forward the possibility of a national liberation front in the 26 counties, together with the Communist party, the movements of fishermen, small farmers, unemployed, homeless and poorly housed, etc. With an effective national liberation front in the south complementing the movement in the North, the IRA believes that the 32 counties could rise together eventually to win the stated goal of an Irish workers' and small farmers' republic. Only a simultaneous rise, it argues, can bring a Republican victory. Such a front would of course include an armed wing, a new Irish Citizens Army. Thus, with the IRA today and a national liberation front in the future, Ireland has the only revolutionary movement in Europe with a Military component and a strategy of armed struggle.

"Shooting is a popular sport in the countryside. Unlike many other countries, the outstanding characteristic of the sport is that it is not confined to any one class."

—Northern Ireland Tourist Board



The bias of the media

Ulster in the ma\$\$ media

If you depend on the commercial media in Canada for coverage on Northern Ireland you may be interested in the following guidelines which are used by many of the large dailies in putting the news together.

A quiz programme for all Canadian editorial staffs reporting on current events in Northern Ireland—What is the question under survey to be known as? The Irish Question.

In making this question meaningful to our many readers, what spectre may be referred to without fear of contradiction?

The spectre of religious hatred.

What part of this spectre's anatomy shall be singled out for special treatment?

Its ugly head.

In our second paragraph, may we again mention religious hatred?

We may not.

What then may we substitute?

Sectarian strife.

To whom may this strife be ascribed?

To Extremist Elements on Both Sides.

On whom may we call to sit down at the Negotiating Table oh lord on whom may we call?

On the moderates. (Who else, you great twit?)

Of what nature is the vision with which we may legitimately expect said moderates to act?

Statesmanlike.

What reductive adjective may we use in referring to the lack of civil rights in N. Ireland?

Alleged lack of same.

May we, by the same token, refer to the N. Ireland government as the alleged government?

We certainly may not, by the same or any other token. Remember who your readers are, they don't want to hear any of the Fenian muck.)

What may we refer to the British troops in Ireland as trying to do?

Keep the peace.

Of what nature is the bath that might be expected in Ireland were it not for the good old British Tommy?

A bloodbath.

Name several other characteristics (salient) and facts (basic, underlying) to be taken into consideration:

(a) alcohol (suggested format, "The unfortunate Irish propensity for...")

(b) volatile Celtic exuberance (see files, French Canada, for sugg. format.)

(c) protestant fears (sugg. form. "spokesmen voiced concern over...")

Actually, this quiz is taken from an article by Patrick MacFadden which appeared in the december, 1969 issue of Last Post. Over two years have passed and yet the commercial media has changed very little its 'formula' for reporting on events in Ulster.

This is not a true picture of the situation in the six counties. Why then is this the picture presented by the established media in Canada? Where does the perspective come from?

Most articles which are run in the commercial media are written by journalists who have no objective reasons for trying to hide the real nature of the struggles in Northern Ireland. What pressures are causing this type of reporting?

Of course, much of the news which reaches the Canadian media about Ireland comes through the international wire services (Associated Press and Reuter), which in turn come through Britain. Many of the reporters are British and it would be understandable that they would be slightly biased in their view of the situation.

However, even if the British reporter felt sympathetic to the struggles of the Catholics of Ulster he or she would be very pressed not to show that feeling in articles they write. The reason for this? Well, the media in Britain is largely controlled by such eminent persons as Lord Thompson of Fleet a well known international media baron or Lord Beaverbrook who also has interests in media in our own Maritimes.

These men are certainly not interested in spreading information which would give people the idea that Britain has a long history of colonial suppression and exploitation of the Irish nation. In fact, you might even say that these men have the same interests as the rulers of Britain who are still trying to suppress the Irish people by means of military occupation. Like other members of their class they are most interested in profits and ex-

pansion of their empires. They for the struggles of ordinary people struggles as 'insurrections'.

But surely they don't control the journalist who works on their Maybe not, but the channels of them down through their 'trust' journalists who dare to write situation in Ulster may soon find job. So that's one pressure that nalists on the scene. Even if an 'sneak in' something a little more will more than likely be edited the press.

But the system doesn't work of intimidation. If your job re establishment oriented news th to get that sort of news is thro channels. So, the people to talk t the military experts and the p business. They tell you exactly write about, and besides, its ea executive or official of the gove so easy to get an interview with IRA or a demonstrator or a ric people seem to distrust reports.

When it comes to 'on the s obvious place to be is behind barricades—it's safer. Take a l scene reporting from Ulster. So the viewpoint of the reporter.

Nine times out of ten you can behind the wrong side of the photography is even more obvi

Media oriented to violence....

The following phrases are taken from the Toronto Globe and Mail in referring to the struggle going on in Ireland. They are commonly used phrases.

"religious strife", "sectarian violence", "killing", "murder", "rebel revenge", "drink inflamed patrons from pubs", etc., etc.

That paper commonly uses headlines such as:

"Mounting Fury in Ireland"—Feb 3, 1972

"Lynch says war possible..."—Feb 5, 1972

"Two U.K. soldiers die..."—Feb 11, 72

"Soldiers wounded as Ulster rocked by blast"

—Feb 25, 72

This sort of coverage is very common in the commercial press. There is a great deal of stress placed on the violent nature of the struggle of the people of Ulster.

When the reporters who are writing the news are always behind the army barricades there is little wonder that they see the struggle as basically a series of insane violence. The police and the army are the final resource of the powers that be. When all else fails the use of force is entrusted into the hands of the army and the police force.

These fine organizations exist merely to exercise coercive power. The men who make up their ranks are not interested in policies or why the struggle is occurring or what the hopes and concerns of the rebels are. They are only interested in stopping the 'insurrection'. They meet any form of opposition with force and relate to situations in tactical terms of power.

In Ulster the army and the police are kept pretty busy and a reporter who follows them around will probably get a very violent picture of what is happening. Even if he isn't quite sure of who starts it.

But the view of the reporter is not the most important aspect which gives a violent orientation to the news coverage of events in Ulster. The main cause of this sort of orientation is the organization of the media toward sensationalism.

The main interest of the commercial media is

making a profit. Profitability is tied directly to advertising revenue and ad revenue is directly proportional to circulation. So, commercial papers use sensationalism to gain an audience. The focus is on where the action is and this means that we read about Ulster when there is something sensational happening there.

We are fed a diet of violence when there is violence in Northern Ireland. When the violence dies down the news coverage tapers off, even though there are still many things going on day to day.

In order to exemplify the coverage given in the Globe and Mail we have summarized the coverage given over a six week period from two weeks before the killing of the 13 civilians in Derry on January 30 of this year. The findings were even more revealing than we thought.

In the two week period before January 30—that is, 12 papers—there were 16 articles on the situation in Northern Ireland. Of these 16 articles none were closer to the front of the paper than page 6 and each article averaged a length of 6 column inches.

However, the most startling aspect of our findings showed us that of the 16 articles 14 had as a major focus in the article the topic of violence and of those 14 articles 12 had headlines which portrayed violence.

Unfortunately, we have lost our notes on the photography but as we remember the picture coverage was very sparse during this time.

On the 31st of January, the day after the Derry slayings, the Globe ran 2 articles on Ulster. Both articles were front page and there was a photo feature on page 25, the first page of the second section. The articles totalled 30 inches in copy with very large headlines. Both articles were about violence and both headlines portrayed violence. The photo feature also had a headline depicting violence.

February 1st saw a total of nine articles on Ulster on pages 1, 4 and 6 with a total copy length of 80 inches. Of the 9 articles 5 focused on violence as a main topic, one was an editorial, one talked about a 'political' solution and 2 were informational, but information of dubious value in developing an un-

derstanding of the situation. Five of the headlines depicted violence or were obviously biased in favor of the status quo in Stormont-Britain.

Front page coverage continued through to the 10th of February with a large majority of the stories relating to violence. Coverage averaged about 40 column inches per day and the photos during this time, as well as the headlines were predominantly occupied with violence.

There was, however, during this time a swing into editorial comment, informational type articles (again of dubious value with such titles as "The continuing mission to pacify the Irish"—Feb 5) and coverage of solutions to the situation being put forward by prominent political leaders.

By the 11th of February the coverage had dropped

to one, page 4 story conc violence. This sort of 'body c

continued to the end of February. The rent strikes, the boycott marches, the army raids and in when they are not written about media. And the very fact that these things means that we will there is another side to the violence is merely the most s people struggling against the imperial power structure.

The people of Ulster are struggling their own lives and the comm have us believe that they "violent".

Choose a side

The best way of showing the bias of the media is to contrast the coverage of the commercial media with the coverage of an alternate news service. Liberation News Service (LNS) coming out of the States is a widely used alternate press service. Reading the coverage they give to the struggle in Ulster one would think they were talking about a completely different situation from the Globe and Mail.

LNS has an Ulster correspondent and it is very obvious from his reporting that he is on the demonstrators side of the barricades. But he does not try to hide this position behind a screen of objective news reporting.

In a much less formal style of journalism than is normally found in the commercial press he describes how difficult it is for him to get interviews with prominent members of the IRA. When he first went to Ulster he went through a period of not being trusted and he writes about the process of 'being contacted' after that distrust was done away with. He reports interviews in detail instead of pulling out 'quotes' to be used for his own purposes.

The stress in LNS coverage is on explanation of the issues involved and reporting the hopes, con-

cerns and frustrations of the p struggle. Where the Globe mi with Ian Paisley or some other run something about a family i and how they relate to the st

The Globe gives great care 'peace' plans put forward by p of Britain. "Heath appeals negotiate Irish peace" (Globe works on new deal for Ulster" LNS examines the economic a the people and how they are s

Where the Globe runs peric senator Edward Kennedy dec Ulster and calling for British Feb 1, 72), LNS runs short f involvement in the economy o Americans are in there too, t share from the people of Uls

This is not to suggest that Objective news coverage is a i in time, however, it is necessa to the question "Which side a situation "Which side of the on?"

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...people and view those

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...are you on?" In this
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The Globe and Mail

TORONTO, MONDAY, JANUARY 31, 1972

13 killed in Londonderry

U.K. troops chase protesters

Shoot soldiers in reprisal: IRA



CANADA
Cloudy
TORONTO HIGH
LOW 20
JAN. PAGE 1
LIFE
For official
weather
changes
watch the
beacon

....and "sectarian" strife

tangled rivalries between Catholics and Protestants" (Globe Aug 14, 1969).

We could also draw the conclusion from the globe that the violence is of Catholic origin. This is done in a more subtle way than the other standard sectarian references. Violence is generally blamed on the IRA, even when that violence is clearly not in line with the IRA policies in the struggle. Then the IRA is solidly linked to the minority Catholic population of Ulster. Violence is never mentioned in connection with Protestant groups, police or army.

As many as 50,000 people have marched in protest of the social inequality in Ulster. They have done this in the face of violent repression by first the B-specials and now the British army. To say that this is the action of a small group of extremists is ridiculous. Many people in Derry and other Catholic areas are presently engaged in a program of passive resistance which includes rent strikes and boycotts of British goods. This large group is not extremist but they have reached their limit as far as putting up with their misery any longer.

The "age old drama" view expressed by the commercial media is the sum and total of the history of the struggle which is presented to us. Yet, in fact the struggle does have a history and it is a long one. For 800 years the British ruling class has tried (fairly successfully) to maintain an imperial hold on Ireland. Even with the partition little changed. Southern Ireland is still basically a part of the British economic colonies. In the wake of the killing of 13 civilians in Derry in January of this year the southern Irish threatened a total embargo on British goods. Prime Minister Lynch warned them that such an embargo would hardly effect the economy of Britain but would wreck havoc with the economy of southern Ireland.

Indeed the struggle of the people of Ireland has a history and that history includes a particular animosity between Catholics and Protestants. But to characterize that struggle as traditional is to pass it off as the result of some inherent difference between Catholic and Protestant or to say that the struggle is based on an antagonism which has its roots in some mythical folk ways which have existed since before recorded history.

So the Catholics are the main instigators of the

violence in Ulster. That's why the British troops were originally sent in 'to protect them from the extremist Protestant elements'. And that's why the Catholics, including Bernadette Devlin, were initially in favour of the army's coming.

The coming of British troops brought about an inquiry which led to the disbanding of the B-specials. The B-specials were the military arm of the Protestant ruling class in Ulster. This ruling class is interested in maintaining the strife between the poorer Protestants and the Catholics. By fanning the flames of this antagonism they maintain a large force of Protestant protectors who are too busy harrasing the Catholics to see how they themselves are being screwed by their leaders.

The disbanding of the B-specials did not mean an end to the military arm of the Protestant ruling class. Most of the men from the B-specials were reorganized into the Ulster defence regiment. (See the "Guardian" Jan 22, 1972.) This organization is slightly more restrained than were the B-specials but they are better armed and so pose a greater coercive threat to the Ulster Catholics.

Besides the reorganized B-specials, there is another well armed Protestant group called the Ulster volunteer force. This group claims a membership of 10,000 and supports the Ian Paisley faction, an extremist wing of the Protestant ruling class. Of course, the royal Ulster constabulary, the Northern Irish Protestant police force is still in existence.

But possibly the most obvious example of Protestant violence was the change in the British regiments in Ulster. This change occurred in 1971 (from Liberation News Service) when the original occupying forces were replaced by Scottish regiments.

The Scots and the Irish are long time enemies since many of the Protestants in Northern Ireland are descendants of Scottish immigrants. The Scottish soldiers have persued the putting down of the 'Catholic insurrections' with a vengeance.

This change of regiments can only be seen as a deliberate and aggressive provocation on the part of the Stormont government and the conservative government in Britain. We have been unable to find any mention of this change in the commercial press.

What is the nature of the struggle in Ulster? If you read the commercial press you might characterize it as sectarian, extremist or Catholic (very rarely Protestant) violence.

The following quotes are taken from the globe and Mail:

"The death toll was Londonderry's worst in more than three years of communal strife pitting Roman Catholic militants against Protestants and the British soldiers sent to restore order."

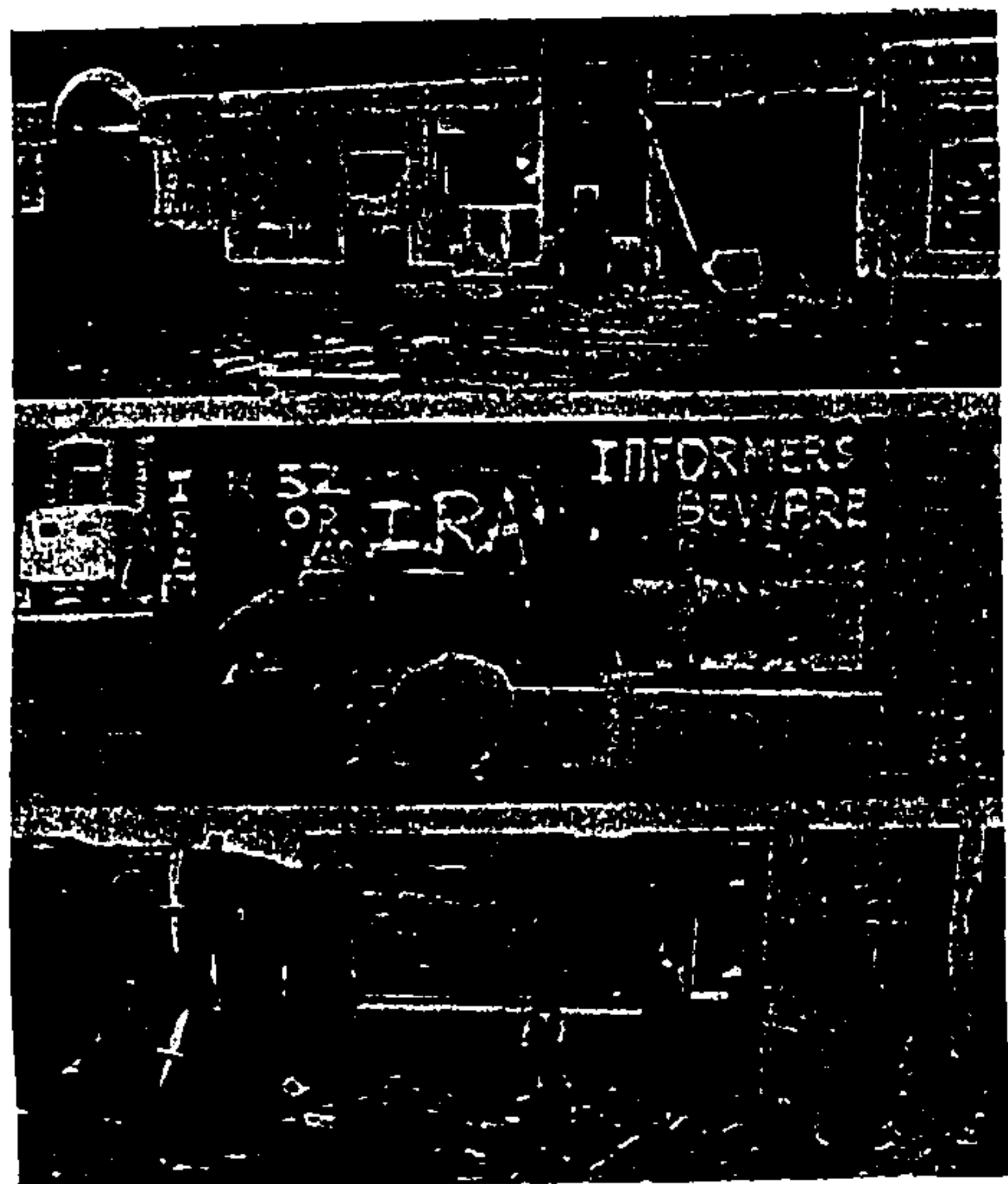
(January 31, page 1)
"An army spokesman said the shooting started after snipers fired on British troops."

(January 31, page 25)
"In the meantime the issue has been prejudged—totally by Irish Catholics..."

(January 3, page 6)

From this view we should draw the necessary conclusion that all the trouble is caused by a small minority of fanatic or extremist elements in the society of Ulster, that it is the result of an "age old Irish drama" (Globe Aug 22, 1969) or "ancient and

"Well some men fight for silver,
Others fight for gold.
But the IRA are fighting
For the land DeValera sold.
—from the Jolly Ploughboy,
an Irish pub song



For many years, the Irish Republican Army was a rather isolated force, illegal, dedicated to the obliteration of the border and little else. In attempts to recover the six lost counties, they fought a number of futile campaigns against the British.

At the beginning of the Sixties, however, the movement took a turn to the left. A new policy emerged which identified the bourgeois government in the South as the enemy as much as a part of the enemy as the British, insisting that reunification of Ireland must be part of a socialist revolution North and South of the border. In the South, the IRA pursued a policy of armed social action: attacking large and foreign landowners, protecting fishing grounds from foreign exploitation, and assisting strikers. In the North, however, the IRA faced a dilemma. Its base was the Catholic population, but its new policies prevented it from strongly pursuing a campaign of nationalistic anti-Protestant activity.

Consequently, an attack in August, 1969 on the Catholic slumdwellers of Belfast by a Protestant mob caught the IRA there unprepared: not enough guns, and not enough organization. The result was a split away by most of the Republicans in the North, and some in the South. The politics of the new group, the Provisionals, were simple: guns, God and nationalism.

The Provisionals effectively abandoned the socialist attitudes of the Official IRA, and have successfully sustained a formidable armed struggle against the British and Ulster ruling elite. They obtained large quantities of arms (some through sympathizers in the government in the South), and there is little question that they have the overwhelming majority of the grassroots support for republicanism.

But it is not only the IRA who have turned the situation into a classic war of national liberation; it is equally the British army and Protestant extremists. Over 16,000 paratroopers are now located in Northern Ireland, and although the

Protestant ultra-right B-Specials have been disbanded, many of its former members have joined the Ulster Volunteer Force, the Ulster Defence Regiment and the Royal Ulster Constabulary.

Last August, the British government introduced Internment, a sort of Irish War Measures Act, but the effect appears to be the reverse of what was intended. Since Internment, the Provisionals have had more support than ever; there have been more intensive attacks on the army at every level, as well as on civilian targets (shops, government buildings etc.). Belfast is a city under siege. In Derry, the army is still kept out of Bogside (the Catholic ghetto), except for occasional lightning raids.

The people have organized committees to defend the barricades day and night, halt looting, keep streets clean and lit, etc. The IRA enforces its own justice: tarring and feathering of girls who go out with English soldiers and men who loot or steal from the poor, execution of informers. But problems of unemployment and poor housing are aggravated daily, and now social security benefits are often cut off or refused to women whose husbands are interned or on the run. The IRA tries to look after its own. Every day there are bank robberies, mail-van holdups, etc., and the money is used to feed the people. Their organization grows....

The resources of the British troops seem to be infinite: guns that see in the dark, armored tanks and ferret cars, tear gases, etc. IRA members have weaponry of World War II vintage, but they live among the people, choose their own ground to fight on, and disappear after an attack. In parts of Belfast the walls are painted white so that soldiers show up at night; the

interview with Sean Kenney

Could you give some outline of the policy of the official IRA?

The Official plan is to organize the Irish working class people both homeless, unemployed, landless and the fishermen and among the trade union movement to organize the working class.

What we want is the Irish working class to fight for their own rights. We've been doing this through mass demonstrations, running educational schools, organizing demonstrations, pickets and mass action on the streets and selling literature and passing out leaflets. We find more and more people especially the protestant community in the north are turning to the IRA for leadership in a campaign against English imperialism in Ireland.

I understand that you have taken part in bombings in the past which still fit into your organisation. Can you be explicit as to why you take part in clandestine operations?

Well, we do it because we don't think for one moment that you'll shift landlordism out of their position of owning and controlling the wealth of Ireland or British troops out of Ireland by purely political means. We realize that we must arm and educate the working class people in Ireland to demand and participate in the struggle and we certainly know other foreign troops who are unwelcome in Ireland won't leave without the mass participation of an armed working class people.

Alright then what is the British army doing in Northern Ireland right now?

Killing the Irish people. The British army is responsible during the past few months for killing about 63 ordinary Irish people through the north of Ireland, suppressing the feelings of the Irish people. 16,000 of them (highly armed, highly trained and highly capable) are around every streetcorner, rooftop and every place you go in the north of Ireland. They have proved themselves of killing and injuring ordinary Irish people in Ireland. The Irish people would be far better off without such oppressive troops...same feeling I would say as in Quebec just a year ago with the occupation of Quebec by the Canadian forces. The Irish people feel that the Quebec people felt that they'd be far better off without the presence of British troops, Canadian troops or what have you.

Are you now speaking in terms of the Irish revolution as being a class revolution?

Yes, it's a class revolution—it's the Irish working class versus the rich, and it's a national liberation struggle as well. Ownership and control in Ireland by the ordinary working class people are being hindered by landlordism and British troops.

John Vorster of South Africa made the comment that he would be very happy to have certain legislation that the northern Irish government have imposed. Could you explain that?

He was a bad one. He said he would love

to have the Special Powers Act, which the northern Ireland government has. The Special Powers Act is maybe twice as bad as the War Measures Act; they'll put you away indefinitely without charge or trial; they can prevent legal advisers or relatives from visiting you; if they kill you behind barbed wire in the British concentration camps in the north of Ireland, they need no inquest; they can smash into your home at any hour of the day or night; they can hold you indefinitely without charge or trial.

What composition would you like the Irish socialist republic to have...what basis would you like to see it built on?

What we want is co-operative ownership of the lands, the fisheries, the industries; a free vote for all the Irish people that can elect an all Ireland government, that would be run in the interests of the Irish people; and that the distribution and the wealth of Ireland would be in the hands of the workers and would be used for them.

Would you explain what you mean when you talk in terms of wanting to create a socialist society in Ireland?

It will ensure that the natural resources of Ireland will be in the hands of the government which will be elected by the people and by so doing the profits of the industries, and natural resources will be used to develop the natural resources and the industries will help the ordinary people as well. It will mean control and ownership of the Irish nation by the people of Ireland. And it will certainly ensure housing and jobs for the people. And it will stop profits

going out of Ireland as they do in the present due to the fact that the capitalists invest the money abroad.

I'm not sure when you say that the unemployment problem will be solved. Can you explain how that problem will be solved in a socialist society?

I do indeed, I can in the sense that the profits of the natural resources are going out of Ireland, and in a lot of cases, the natural resources are not being developed. The fisheries, for instance, in a lot of cases are dying and in some cases are making wealth. We would advocate the co-operative ownership of land, fisheries and mines and by doing so more and more Irish people will be employed.

History has shown us that a number of liberation struggles have been smashed because only 1/2 the population has been involved in it, i.e. men. More recently women are beginning to play a larger and larger role in leadership positions and in general in revolutionary struggles in places such as Vietnam and definitely here on the North American continent. What role are women playing in the Irish revolution?

Women are involved in the IRA both at local and national levels, participating in all things that men do within the IRA, and also in the Irish Women's Liberation movement. It's first meeting in Dublin some months ago had a women's attendance of a thousand people. It's very involved in breaking down male chauvinist attitudes throughout Ireland and building up housing demand for families and the

The IRA

snipers are taking their toll. But the resistance is not only military—and that is the main reason it cannot be crushed. As of February, some 25,000 Catholic families were officially on rent and rate strike—refusing to pay taxes to local authorities, many of which now have no income. The provincial government has retaliated by sacking the few Catholics on the public payrolls and enacting a law so that debts to the government can be deducted from wages and social security (welfare) benefits.

But morale among the Catholic working people has never been higher. Children of six or seven talk of their hatred of the British troops in a cool and unemotional way. Wives of internees have not resigned themselves to the fate of their husbands; many have joined women's action groups. And the older people, who have waited a long time, can see freedom on the horizon.



Sean Kenney toured Canada last fall to raise money for families of persons arrested under Internment. This is an adaption of an interview by Toronto Newsreel.

rights of married couples to do what they want to if they wish it, and also becoming involved on the abortion issue. Women's Liberation Movement is certainly playing a big role. They marched at the United Mayday Demonstration which was in Dublin and Belfast this year in support of socialism for all of Ireland. They certainly play a very big role within the IRA.

How does the Official IRA see its future in terms of political organizing and military strategy?

Well, we see first of all that if we are to free Ireland more and more of the working class must become organized to fight back against the system which is driving them into emigration. We realize that our members must become more involved in the political revolution going on throughout Ireland, in the social revolution and eventually the military revolution.

In what ways can Canadians contribute to the development of an Irish revolution?

The way Canadians can contribute to an Irish revolution is by changing the control of the natural resources in Canada (which is owned at the moment by the U.S., in most cases) to a position where the Canadian people, not your government, the people themselves, would start demanding ownership and control of the natural resources. And I think a tremendous help would be given to the Irish struggle if Canadians started to realize that the Quebec people are fighting for freedom just as the Irish people are.

Cathal Goulding is Chief of Staff of the Official IRA, and has spent 15 of his 50 years in either British or Irish jails. Just last month, he was arrested again, in Dublin, and charged with belonging to an illegal organization, but sympathetic judiciaries dropped the charges "for lack of evidence". This interview is adapted from the Irish journal *This Week*.

interview with Cathal Goulding

After your Northern campaign of 1956-62, the Republican Movement adopted a new course. Could you give a brief account of this new course and why it was adopted?

When the campaign in the Six Counties ended in 1962, the leadership of the movement was faced with the question: what form will our next campaign take? We had to ask this question of ourselves, because we knew that if we were to retain the leadership of the movement, and maintain the movement itself as a revolutionary organization, we would need to have a policy for the next phase of the fight against British Imperialism in Ireland.

Also, we had on our hands trained physical force revolutionaries who were, to some extent, still armed. They would decide for themselves what would happen next, if we didn't decide for them. With that idea in mind, we called a conference.

We included in this Conference a number of the younger people who were active militarily—in the 25 year age-group or even younger. It was essential to stop any premature action by these people. We weren't just sitting down and waiting for something to happen. We were determined to plan for something that we could develop.

Was this really a post-mortem on the Northern Campaign failure?

Yes, but it was also a post-mortem in a larger sense. The terms of reference that the Army Council gave this Conference, were, briefly, to examine the whole position of the Republican movement from the beginning of this century, to try to supply answers to a number of different questions—such as why was the Republican movement unable to succeed in spite of the fact that the people who were engaged in its revolutionary activities were willing to make any sacrifice for it. Although supporters made sacrifices in the sense that they gave up their property, their money, we still never came within a real hope of success.

We found that we couldn't stay within the historical terms of reference we'd been given. We had to go back further. The whole history of the resistance to British Imperialism in Ireland, even from 1798, was relevant. The conclusions that we came to were that, although we had the potential for revolution (we had the manpower, and in some cases we even had the material), we were separated from the people of Ireland, in the sense that we were a secret organization.

The people had no real knowledge of our objectives, they didn't understand our tactics or our motives. If they didn't understand us, they couldn't be with us. Without the support of the majority of the people, we just couldn't succeed.

The question was: how could we get the people to support us? The evidence was that the Republican movement had no real policies. Without objectives, we couldn't develop a proper strategy. Tactics were all that we had employed. The actual fight for freedom had become an end in itself to us. Instead of a means, it became an end. We hadn't planned to achieve the freedom of Ireland. We simply planned to fight for the freedom of Ireland. We could never hope to succeed because we never planned to succeed.

What did you conclude?

The answer was plain: we would have to establish our objective; to explain these to our movement; to persuade our movement to accept them; to bring them to the people and explain them—and then to show the people, by our initial political and agitational activities, that we were

sincere. We would have to declare what kind of Government, what kind of State we wanted in Ireland. We would then have to show the people by propaganda, education and action, why this type of system would be beneficial to them—that it would mean more bread and butter, better wages, better housing conditions, more education and a profounder cultural life for everyone.

How did you propose to bring these things about?

Our first objective then was to involve ourselves in the everyday problems of people; to organize them to demand better houses, better working conditions, better jobs, better pay, better education—to develop agitational activities along these lines. By doing this we felt that we could involve the people, not so much in supporting the Republican movement for our political ends, but in supporting agitation so that they themselves would be part of a revolutionary force demanding what the present system just couldn't produce.

So, we believed that political power must be our objective, whether we got it through physical force or through the ballot box or by agitation. The means are immaterial. Of course, we believed, as a revolutionary organization, that the people can't get real political power by simply having representatives elected. There were too many examples in the world—Greece, Spain, Portugal, where the people elected the Government in a democratic manner and were 'democratically' oppressed by the forces of the Establishment who 'democratically' control the police, the Army and the Church...

Out of this Conference came recommendations. The first was that we should openly declare for a Socialist Republic. That was now the objective of the Republican Movement: to establish a Socialist Republic 'as envisaged by Connolly and in keeping with the sentiments of the Proclamation of 1916'...

How then did your plans relate to Northern Ireland and how did they materialize there?

When we decided on the agitation campaign, we first of all decided that we would become engaged in the things I've referred to: housing, land, fisheries, Trade Union agitations and so on. We realized that in the Six Counties, however, before launching these activities, we would first have to work for the establishment of basic Civil Rights in order to establish democracy and abolish discrimination. This would also give us the political manoeuvrability to establish the Republican Movement openly...

We wanted to do away equally with economic and social discrimination against the Catholic and Protestant working classes. However, at the beginning of the Civil Rights campaign, we felt that as a result of the Unionist 'super-race' complex and its attendant bigotries, the Catholics had a kind of sub-race spirit—that they hadn't got the spirit or the will to revolt effectively...

We were only beginning to learn the technique of political agitation and how to conduct a campaign for Civil Rights. We realized what Wolfe Tone had meant two hundred years before when he made his appeal to the men of no property in Ireland. These were the only people who would fight imperialism because these were the people who were being exploited by imperialism, politically, economically and culturally.

This brings us to the point that has mystified what I might describe as the

outsider. How could a programme such as you've outlined, addressed to a revolutionary body such as you've described have led to a split?

There were, I think, basically three reasons for the split. The first was that there is a certain section of the Republican Movement who come from middle-class families. Their real interest in the Movement and in Irish freedom is a sentimental one, a traditional, rather than an ideological or socialist one. They were involved in the movement in most cases simply because their fathers or grandfathers were involved in the 'Tan War' or the Fenian Movement...

The second reason, another group were good revolutionaries and good socialists but disagreed with parliamentary participation because they felt that the Republican Movement, in entering into any of these institutions was going to deteriorate from a revolutionary organization into a reformist organization. They feared that it would become part and parcel of the Establishment by being engaged in the institutions of the Establishment.

The third section included those who had been misled into believing that our concentration on the political and agitational aspects of revolution was responsible for a lack of armed strength when this was needed for defence in the North. They were led to believe that the Army had gone altogether 'political' and didn't intend to fight. The events in the Falls, July 3rd have disproved this argument.

What role, if any, does the Catholic Church play in the Citizens' Defence Committees, and in fostering the suspicion that has been engendered that your socialist left wing revolutionary aims are morally dangerous?

First of all, the ordinary people are steadily moving leftward. This is not something that is peculiar to Ireland. It has been happening all over the world. Ordinary working people are beginning to realize that they have a right to the use and enjoyment of the resources of their country, no matter what country.

Now, the Irish people are the same in this as everybody else. The priests who support the people, are a part of the people. The Church, as an official organization, of course, is part of the Establishment and its objective (apart from its religious objectives)—its political objective is to maintain the status quo because it still regards the maintenance of the status quo as essential to its existence. And this is where the Church is wrong. What is essential to the Church's existence in Ireland—or in any country—is its connection or its involvement with the people, in the execution of the people's own judgments on their own secular affairs.

Our organization is dedicated to the emancipation of the people of Ireland, as I said before. Our policies, in trying to establish the people in control of the resources of the country, are not in any way dedicated to denigrating the Church or being anti-clerical.

This idea has been advocated by Pearse, by Connolly, by Mitchell, Lawlor, Emmet and by Tone. Our policy is in the developing tradition of these thinkers. They re-thought the principles in each generation in the light of the problems that beset them in their times. Our time has its own needs and its own demands. We are prepared to do no less than they. So, this is our interpretation of their ideas. We believe that now is the opportune time to implement them.



Imperialism

Part of the problem people have in trying to understand the Irish question, and indeed many of the 'World Problems' lies in the fact that people do not have a working knowledge of the role Imperialism plays in determining the economy of a 'developing' nation.

That the effects of imperialism permeate the lives of all Irish cannot be doubted. And that the Irish have been the subjects of imperialist exploitation throughout history has been shown earlier in this paper.

This article attempts to tie the existing economy of Ireland to the needs of the British and American economies, and compare the imperialist relationships that exist between Britain, the US, and Canada and Ireland, Quebec, Vietnam, and Korea.

This understanding is necessary before one can begin to discuss the tactics of revolutionary groups such as the IRA, the FLQ and the NLF.

Central to the lives of all Irishmen is their countries' total subservience to and domination by the British economy.

The English first entered what now makes up Northern Ireland in 1169. As more English came into Ulster, the Ulstermen had to move south. During the reign of James I and II, fierce battles were waged by the Irish to get back their land. This struggle against British infiltration met with little success for by the time William of Orange had defeated James II, in 1689, less than 5 percent of Irish land was left in the hands of the native peoples.

The coming of the Industrial Revolution meant increased industrialization in the Ulster region. Consequently, British capital investment certified complete control of the Ulster economy. Development capital was concentrated in this region until the establishment of legal partition in 1920.

Since 1920, the British have extended their control to the point of total and complete domination of both the Northern Irish and Republican economies. Today for example, 70 percent of all goods exported from the Republic go to Britain with 86 percent of all imports coming from Britain. The picture is the same for Northern Ireland as well. 83 percent of all exports go to Britain and 74 percent of all imports come from Britain.

We must begin by understanding the process which led to British domination.

In Ulster, industrialization has been the key. Industrialization is dependent on certain natural resources, cheap transportation and fuel. Also important is the availability of cheap labour. This cheap labour forces must be indoctrinated into the Protestant (capitalist) work ethic with its corresponding desire for the accumulation of goods and commodities. (The desire for goods and commodities not only chains the worker to work, it also increases the market size available to goods produced by the developed or colonizing nation.)

A most striking indication of the degree of foreign ownership in Ireland are to be found in statistics taken from the Statistical Abstract of Ireland:

Total Life and Industrial
Nationality Assurance Premiums Collected
in Ireland (in 000 pounds)

	1962	1964	1967
Irish	9,116	10,472	13,867
Non Irish	8,453	10,512	14,192

Non-Life Insurance Premiums in Ireland (in 000 pounds)

	1964	1967
Irish	2,216	2,871
Non Irish	12,845	16,060

Applications for new patents
by country of Origin, 1968

	Patents	Trade Marks	Total
US	423	521	944
GB	446	461	907
Ireland	159	322	481
W. Germany	159	239	398
N. Ireland	3	13	16
all others	423	568	991

Ironically, the government of the Republic has been put in a position of perpetuating and increasing this foreign investment and ownership trend. They do this because it appears to be the only viable means of combating the large scale unemployment problem that plagues the economy. The effects have been disastrous as indicated by the following press release:

DUBLIN (LNS)—Ireland has the largest producing zinc, lead and silver mines in Europe, one of the largest copper mines, and the best barium deposits and fifth largest mercury mine in the world. They are all owned and controlled by American firms.

These firms don't have to pay any taxes to the Irish government for the first 20 years of operation. Since none of the deposits will last that long, the American firms will have taken some 600 million dollars in clear profit from the Irish economy in less than two decades.

The release goes on to say: "The Irish are getting nothing out of this wealth, and if the government decides to nationalize the mines, they will more than likely have to pay compensation to the companies involved—paying one more time for their own resources. The sad thing is that tax exemptions to American firms were only

Value of Imports to N. Ireland
by country (in 000 pounds)

	1964	1967	
GB	346,215	411,245	74 percent
Ireland	37,344	50,888	
US	16,267	21,916	
Canada	12,131	10,589	
others	58,412	60,679	

Value of Exports from N. Ireland
by country (in 000 pounds)

	1964	1967	
GB	386,747	455,904	83 percent
Ireland	26,092	33,028	
W. Germany	2,018	2,141	
Belgium	1,212	2,189	
US	819	1,879	
France	1,001	1,440	
all others	6,107	11,625	

Ireland finds itself in much the same economic relationship with Britain as Canadians have with the American economy. Not surprisingly, the Irish are now beginning to talk about nationalism in purely economic terms.

For example, one of the tactics suggested for getting the British out of Ireland was a total boycott of British goods. Some British goods are already being boycotted in the Republic of Ireland.

Of course the Irish press is horrified at the prospect. "Danger of 'pauper state'—says exporters" reads the bold headlines of Dublin's Irish Independent. "The Republic could become a 'pauper state' if Britain retaliated—even partially—against a 'boycott British goods' campaign."

In this case the media makes clear to the Irish peoples their economic dependency on the 'mother country'. Yet the necessity for the Irish to deal with foreign ownership of their economies most dramatically is revealed in an analysis of the rush of profits leaving for the Imperial Power.





introduced to encourage industry to come in and create more jobs and stop generation after generation of young Irish people emigrating to America. So now they work in the mines, some of them, for 65 dollars a week, while the Americans a tax free profit of 466 dollars a week per employee; some others try to work the land, some are unemployed, many still emigrate to America."

The position of the northern government is no less tragic. In an official publication entitled "Northern Ireland: The Most Profitable Area for Industrial Expansion" they advertise:

"Northern Ireland is especially attractive to companies seeking fast, profitable investments, for it has a large surplus of labour with a high reputation for reliability. The country is still faced with a higher degree of unemployment than elsewhere in the United Kingdom. But this is a situation which you can turn to your advantage. (stress as in original) With a birthrate nearly a third higher than elsewhere in the United Kingdom, Ulster offers an assured supply of young workers for the future."

This encouragement on the part of both Irish governments to foreign investment has cost the Irish significantly. The most obvious cost is the loss of potential profit to foreign hands. Capital investment by Irish investors would at least assure that profits would remain in the country and could be recirculated through taxation.

There are more subtle costs. One is the potential demoralization of both Irish workers and businessmen. Irish workers are forced to bear the brunt of taxation for the building of social facilities, schools, hospitals etc. The indigenous business community finds itself in a similar situation to the Canadian business class. Their inability to compete with large foreign investors (multinational British and American corporations), is forcing them into economic stagnation and decline.

Also, the government must guarantee some sort of security to the foreign investor. Any guarantees given to foreign investors places the government firmly on the side of the investor and against the Irish worker whose labour is exploited by that investor.

Forty-five US companies have invested 200 million dollars in the six counties since the Second World War, with such interests as American Tobacco, Ford, Goodyear and IT&T providing 'the necessities of life for the Ulstermen.' Standing watch over this investment are three US military bases, the largest of which, in Derry, was reportedly offered to the British as an internment camp for Irish revolutionaries in June, 1970.

Ireland finds itself in a two-fold situation of domination. By giving up most of its economic control to foreign investors it has invited the necessity for military domination as well. The American presence is consequent on their need to protect their investments, the British presence necessary to ameliorate the social contradictions arising out of Ireland's status as a colony.

Many Irish industries find themselves in a sorry state at this time. Ireland's meat industry is now feeling the crunch of England's tight money policies and those of the US. In the last two years Britain has cut back on the amount of killed and packed

meat imported from the Republic, yet they have increased the number of imported live cattle. Obviously looking for jobs, the British government has decided to have more of the industrial processing done in England relegating Ireland to raw material production and destroying her meat processing industry.

Ulster finds itself in a similar position. Import-export tables depict the dependence of Ulster's economy on the export of unprocessed or lightly processed materials. The tables also point to their dependency on the export of processed goods which require much human labour (textiles) at cheap prices.

The main exports in foods are fruit and vegetables, feeding stuff for animals, tobacco and manufacture, and maize unmilled. Food imports are eggs in shells, bacon and ham, fresh chilled or frozen meat (beef, mutton, lamb and pork) and milk, preserved or condensed.

Thus Ireland and even more so, Ulster, have all the qualities of a colonial economy quite similar to the branch plant relationship that Canada finds herself in with the US. Their economies are relegated to primary extractive ventures and are not able to develop secondary manufacturing and processing facilities. The question of nationalization becomes increasingly complicated since these secondary facilities must be created to break out of the situation of economic dependency on British manufacturers.

The crisis of unemployment (aggravated by the countries economic subservience to the British and US economies) is acute. Jobs are so scarce in Ulster that the government subsidizes workers who travel to work in the UK or Western Europe. The scarcity of jobs has forced the workers into a dog-eat-dog fight for jobs. Management is the recipient of a 'passive' working class, fearful of strike action and generally cowering to management. Herein lies the "reliability" of the Irish working class so lauded in the government pamphlet quoted earlier.

The low cost of labour and raw materials that Ireland hopes will attract foreign investment does not result in any increases in the income accrued to the Irish workers. Investors hold down wages in their inevitable quest to cut their costs. In times of international monetary and economic crisis 'cost cutting' becomes escalated. A multinational investment concern may sacrifice his economic investment in one country to shore up holdings in another or at home.

Thus, when the US announced stiffer regulations concerning beef imports from Ireland, many Irish producers were laid off. And when British meat packers cut back on branch plant operations in Ireland, the headlines screamed "Still More Workers Lose Jobs".

The story is repeated in the fuel industry. Transportation costs for the shipment of coal from the UK to Ireland are so minimal that Britain uses Ireland as a convenient recipient of her coal surpluses.

The Irish peoples are caught in the vicious spiral of economic dependency and foreign control. Seeking to ameliorate the growing contradictions inherent in this status, those who rule Ireland attempt short range

methods of reform which perpetuate the influx of foreign capital and domination and thus aggravate her economic ills.

Until the long range necessity of arresting economic power and control from foreign capital interests in Ireland is embarked upon, the future is bleak.

The parallels between the situations in Northern Ireland, Quebec, Vietnam, Korea, and others are too obvious to be ignored. All these situations involve colonies trying to break away from the colonizer (settler, industrializer) and have used guerrilla warfare to baffle the much stronger imperialist power. And in all situations, the press has been used to cloud the real issues and to bring out a false emotional issue.

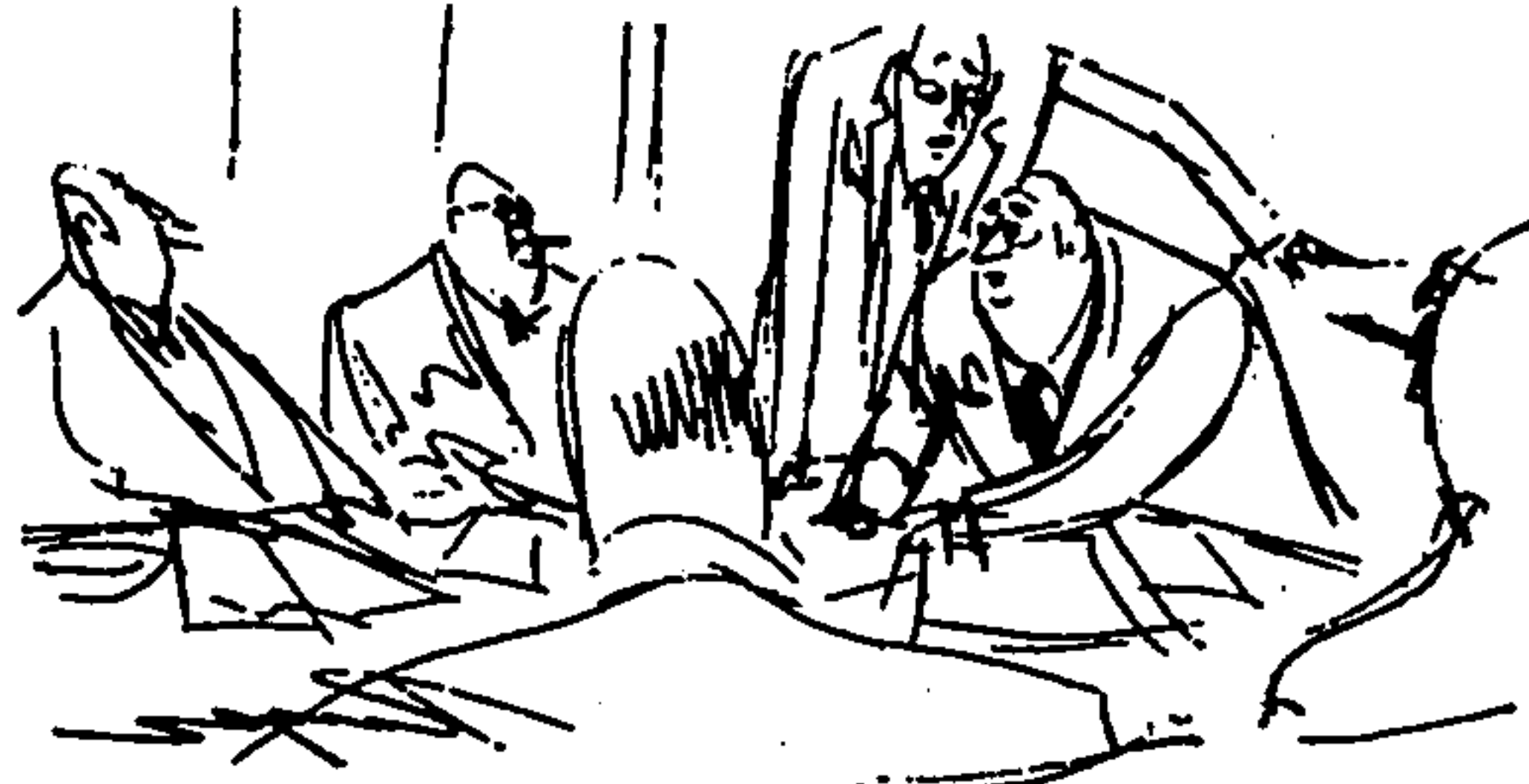
As we see it here in Canada, the fighting in Ireland is a religious battle, between the Catholics and the Protestants. Presumably the complaints are that the Protestants won't give the Catholics equal rights, and why they won't is up to individual interpretation, as is any solution.

In Quebec the story is similar, with a few twists for interest. This time it's the francophones against the anglophones. The French are losing their culture and aren't getting the good jobs because of their culture. And the explanation doesn't go much further. It can't.

Vietnam is a different kettle of fish, for here the Americans are fighting the age-old enemy, communism. The emotional power of that concept has kept the Americans, and the world, docile in the presence of genocide. It has kept almost constant streams of GI's crossing the pond. But further questioning of the US role only meets a brick wall—keeping America free. And after twelve years, the credibility begins to wear thin.

Korea is essentially the same as Vietnam, except that the fighting took place during the McCarthy era and the myth of communism stuck then. And the press keeps quiet today while the citizens still fight the US occupation.

Outside agitators, poor countries being helped out by foreign aid and production, commies out to take over the world—we've heard it all before. What haven't we heard?



"Before we demand that Westminster protect our industry against cheap foreign imports manufactured at slave-labour wages, I'd like to remind you, sir, that we own 67 percent of those foreign factories!"

We haven't heard about American, Canadian and British investments. I've already mentioned the British and American interests in Ireland; and the Canadian interests in Quebec are obvious—large Ontario investments, large American investment, and an open transportation route.

Vietnam has large deposits of valuable minerals, untapped oil resources (which the oil barons have dived up already), and of course there's opium and heroin which brings a lot of money into the states, to a lot of influential people.

Korea is strategically located in terms of keeping an eye on Japan, as is Taiwan. Korea also has valuable tungsten deposits, an important mineral in iron ore production.

All have investment to be protected—all are sources of necessary raw materials—and all are sources of cheap labour. They are all rural and agricultural countries, and therefore wide open to industrialization, and the destruction of cultural and racial unity is the tool the imperialist uses to enslave the worker to the capitalist system, to pit worker against worker in order to disintegrate any unity and foster the competitive atmosphere so crucial to the indoctrination of the worker.

In all cases, the oppressed class is restricted to a certain geographical area, and in the case of Ireland, Vietnam and Korea, an area has been partitioned off in which the imperialist power can concentrate his forces of development, unhindered by the majority of the indigenous people. And in these cases the indigenous people have fought to maintain their unity.

In all cases there has been popular support from all sectors for the liberating forces (though not according to the press). This popular support has been in the form of civil rights marches of 50,000 people in tiny Ulster, large groups such as the QFL in Quebec, and an army that has held out for ten years against the Americans and longer against the French in Vietnam. And in Korea, they're still fighting the American occupation.

And on and on it goes. The only thing one knows for sure is that the strife is spreading, and the conflict escalating everywhere. But then, why be concerned, 'cause it can't happen here!!

Scenes from Belfast

There're No Jobs Here

To complete the picture of life in Northern Ireland we included this story of a family in the Falls Road area.

BELFAST (LNS)—Six days a week, Joe leaves his cramped and narrow four-room house for his job at the state-owned power company. As he walks through the decaying streets of the Falls Road, Belfast's central Catholic ghetto, the dampness in the dark morning cuts through his clothing like a knife.

Joe just took part in a nationwide power industry work slowdown to force higher wages. They lost. That means more debt, and Joe can't get it out of his mind that his union "brothers" in England are still getting five pounds (\$12) a week more than he and the other guys at his power station. And the cost of living is as high in Belfast as it is in England.

While Joe is on his way to work, his wife Eileen gets their kids ready for school. Eileen is pregnant with their sixth child, and her natural strength and buoyancy is flagging. "I expect to lose all my children," she says. "Every one of them will have to leave Ireland. There're no jobs for them here."

Joe and Eileen are Irish Catholics. Their house stands less than 30 yards from a British Army check-point on the "Peace Line", a corrugated steel and barbed wire wall which snakes along the streets and alleys now separating Belfast's Catholic and Protestant neighborhoods. Their children play soccer in the street near the muzzles of the soldiers' Belgian semi-automatic rifles.

During the summer and autumn of 1969 when the working class people of the Falls Road and other Catholic areas in Belfast and Derry were defending themselves against the combined onslaught of the police and the "B Specials", a force of Protestant paramilitary thugs, these battles made headlines around the world. Since then, American reporters and television news teams have been sent into Northern Ireland to investigate the "causes" of the turmoil.

Almost unanimously they have concluded that the fighting is just another example of how intolerant people can get over religion. "They're all a bunch of religious bigots who refuse to join the 20th century," the world is told.

But Joe and Eileen aren't bigots. They don't resent the Protestants because the Protestants have given up the Popo. They, like many Ulster Catholics, often feel bitter toward the "Orangemen" because the Protestant majority gets better, higher-paying jobs, they keep those jobs when the times get bad and Catholics are laid off, and they live in better housing.

Note left for her milkman by Derry housewife during uprising:
from Last Post Vol. 1 No. 1

NO MILK TODAY BUT PLEASE
LEAVE A DOZEN OR SO
EXTRA EMPTIES

Joe and Eileen understand the economic and social inequities that underlie the resentment, the inequities that first sparked the Civil Rights movement here a year and a half ago. But many other Catholics resent the Protestants without the benefit of a clear economic analysis; they feel that the Protestants are "not their kind," that they somehow are responsible for the grim lives that Ulster Catholics lead.

The British (who along with the Japanese, the Germans and the Americans own the economy of Northern Ireland) have seized upon the traditional Protestant-Catholic conflict as an excuse to occupy Ulster militarily. Why the troops? They fear that the "left-wing ideology" of the Irish Republican Army, People's Democracy and other radical Catholic groups is quickly taking root among the Catholics. They are right. The British status quo is physically threatened as the anger of Catholic working people grows.

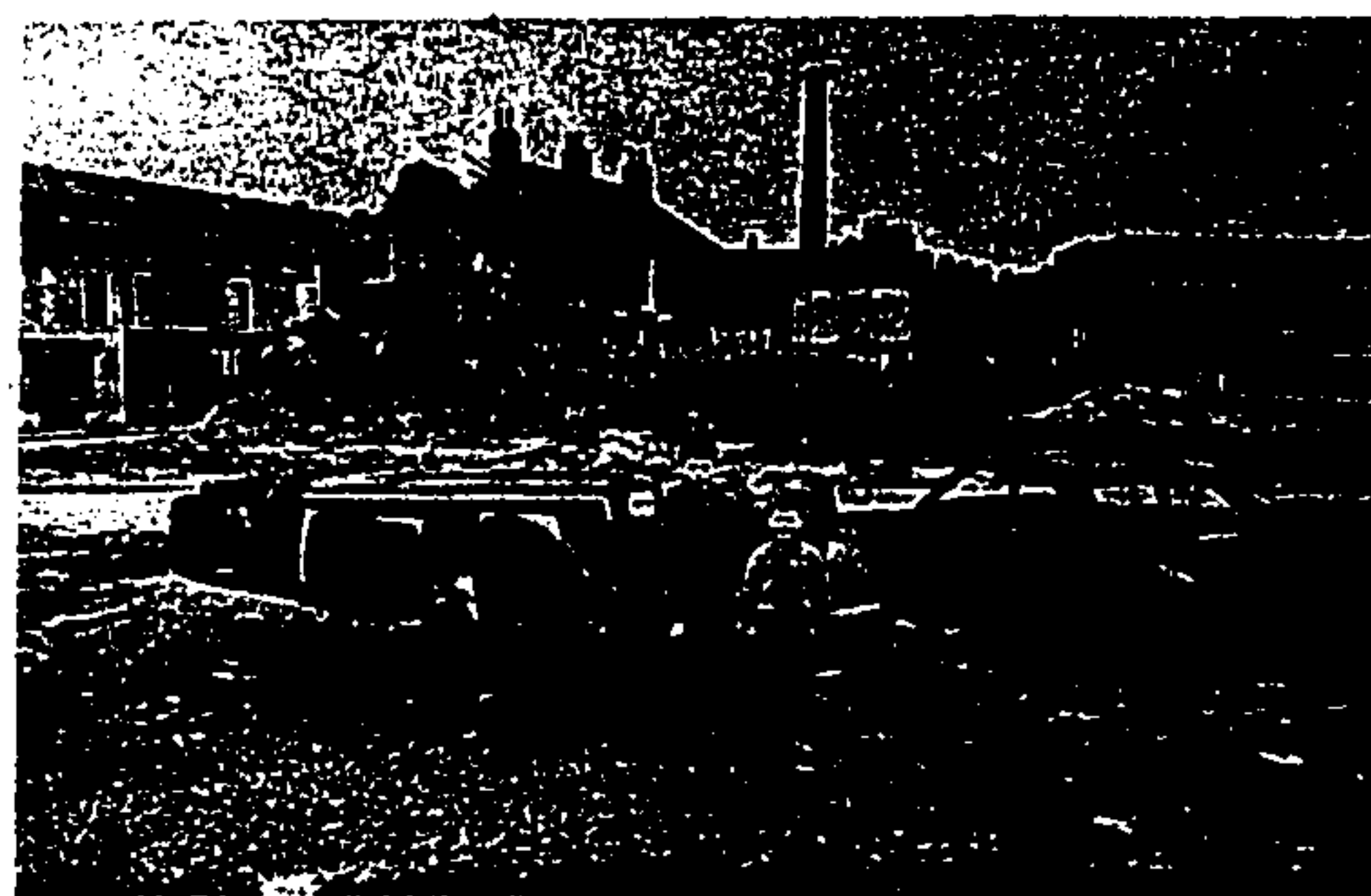
The Protestants in a sense are caught in the middle. Their labour too is exploited by the English, their wages, like the Catholics', are lower than the English workers'. But the Protestants have been trained and prodded for many years to hate and fear the Catholics, in much the same way that poor whites are taught to despise poor blacks in the U.S.

The anti-Catholic fervor of the "Orangemen" was heightened just at the same time that the Catholic Civil Rights movement was burgeoning in 1969. The "shot in the arm" came in the form of Ian Paisley, a right-wing Protestant minister and demagogue who sparked an anti-Catholic political campaign. The campaign soon took the form of physical assaults on Catholics. The Catholics fought back, and the stage was set.

Children's Rhyme

Where is the flag of England?
Where is she to be found?
Wherever there's blood and plunder
They're under the British ground.

But as we sat in Joe and Eileen's tiny living room, letting the coal fire and some of their smooth Irish whiskey thaw us out, Joe explained that he felt it was actually the increasing breakdown of bigotry and fear between Catholics and Protestants that had led to the street fighting in the spring of 1969. According to Joe, the early 1960's had seen more and more Catholics and Protestants



move into each other's neighborhoods. "And although they wouldn't admit it," said Joe, "Many Catholics had good friends who were Protestant. But that's all changed now." As Joe sees it, the Northern Irish government saw integration as a threat to its power and moved to crush Catholic Protestant mixing.

Using the excuse that the Catholic civil rights marches of 1969 were "getting violent," the government sent in the infamous "B Specials," Northern Ireland's own stormtroopers, to terrorize Catholic workingclass neighborhoods. But instead of running the Catholics responded to these attacks with armed resistance. They erected makeshift barricades around their community which they successfully defended from both B Specials and the Royal Ulster Constabulary, a police force, for four months. The fighting has continued intermittently ever since.

Joe's thinking about the Northern Irish government comes out of a whole lifetime of experience with a government that maintains its power by setting group against group. For example, the City Council of Belfast has built pitifully few public housing facilities. Thousands of people in this city of 500,000 need better homes. But because the council makes sure that what houses there are go to Protestants, few Protestants will support construction of new homes for Catholics. In this way, Belfast's City Hall can get away with ignoring the City's crucial housing problem, and at the same time keep the working population of Belfast at each other's throats.

Republican anti-Free State song:

Take it down from the mast, Irish traitors,
It's the flag we Republicans claim.
It can never belong to Free Staters
For you've brought on it nothing but shame.
Leave it to those who are willing
To uphold it in war and in peace,
The men who intend to do killing
Until England's tyranny cease.

Massive CS gas attacks, the looting and burning of downtown streets by the imported Scottish Black Watch, machine gun nests on quaint old street corners, midnight searches for arms—all this has radicalized the Catholic population of Belfast.

But the Protestants have been affected by it too. We met Danny, a British Tommie, on the Liverpool-Belfast ferry. He and his unhappy buddies were returning to Ulster from Christmas leave in England.

After giving us a stock rationalization for why he'd soon be back in Belfast ("We got to keep the peace") he later changed his line. "The Protestants and Catholics'll be going at it real hard. About then the soldiers arrive... and suddenly they'll stop fighting each other and start on us!" Danny added that since the British arrived, stones and bottles have been replaced by gelignite

plastic explosive and Thompson sub-machine guns. Military personnel carriers are regularly ambushed.

The armed revolt has not been stopped by the massive British military presence. Neither has the will of a growing number of Belfast residents to join together to serve the people's needs. The most hopeful example of this that we saw is what's going on in Bombay Street, a few blocks above Falls Road. Back in the summer of 1969, Protestant arsonists and B Specials set fires which completely gutted every home on the street. Hundreds were homeless. The government dragged its feet about a solution.

"Last Poems" by Yeats

I sing what was lost, and dread what was won,
I walk in a battle fought over again,
My king a lost king, and lost soldiers my men:
Feet to the Rising and Setting may run,
They always beat on the same small stone.

Then a group of the families who had been burned out got together and formed a Cooperative Committee. They got people like Bernadette Devlin of People's Democracy (and a member of parliament from Ulster) to help them raise funds. They were going to rebuild Bombay Street—and better than before.

This winter some families were able to move into the first of the rebuilt houses. Even by middle-class American standards they are really something. Three-bedroom houses for \$8.40 a week rent. Their old houses like Joe and Eileen's had only 2 or 3 rooms. Their attractiveness was in stark contrast to the decaying homes of the Protestant workers situated just across the "Peace Line" running down the alley.

A young construction worker took us around the house he was working on. He told us how the Belfast City Council had toyed with the idea of bureaucratically sabotaging the project but gave up when it gauged the vast support the working people of Bombay Street had in the rest of the population. Pointing across the barbed-wire to the homes of his Protestant "enemies," he said, "They've got it as bad as the Catholics. The government's power comes from keeping the working class divided."

A few minutes later, we were standing on some scaffolding, right on the Peace Line, watching the workers put finishing touches on one of the new housing blocks. Suddenly a shout rang out from across the barricades. A middle-aged Protestant beckoned one of the bricklayers' attention. They spoke for a few moments. Then the bricklayer turned to us and explained what the man wanted. "He asked me to come over the line to do some work on his house."

Then the bricklayer flashed a smile and returned to his work.



Joe's family

I write it out in a verse
McDonagh and MacBride
And Connolly and Pearse,
Now and in time to be
Wherever green is worn,
Are changed, changed utterly:
A terrible beauty is born.
—William Butler Yeats



...towards an independent, united Ireland

The Provisional wing of the IRA called for a 72-hour ceasefire on March 10, hinting that "a positive response" from Britain could lead to an end to the bloodshed. But peace will not come as long as the British Army continues to occupy Northern Ireland and as long as Britain continues to support the Protestant-dominated sectarian government at Stormont. For it is the system of domination and discrimination, that creates poverty and hatred, and these are the roots of violence in Ireland.

And the violence has thoroughly permeated life in Ireland. The children of Derry's Bogside play strange games in 1972. They tie one of their number to a lamp post, and dance around her, chanting "Soldier lover." And the child replies, "But I love him." The only thing missing is the tar.

The children of Belfast's Falls area play at being wicked soldiers, and where once the Bogeyman was a wicked giant, mothers now threaten them with "putting them in Long Kesh". And the children fall silent, because they know what Long Kesh means.

And it is becoming increasingly obvious that the British Army and the Stormont government cannot win. Since Internment, Free Derry, consisting of Bogside, Creggan and Brandywell, has thumbed its nose at Stormont and Westminster alike. Behind carefully constructed barricades of scrap steel, welded into place, and abandoned vehicles cemented into trenches in the streets, the minority has organized its life.

Armed sentries from the Provisional and Official IRAs and the Catholic Ex-servicemen's Association check everyone in and out. Within the district the people are in control, houses are allocated, disputes are sorted out, and educational and cultural activities are organized. They have taken passive political and armed resistance one step further, to the creation of the first stages of a workers administration.

But although the Republicans have gone a long way towards their most important objective—the smashing of Stormont—the fact remains that they are still only about one third of the population. The mass marches have been impressive, but their effectiveness is strictly limited, and their appeal could quickly become "stale".

A strategy which limits itself to the North will also be confronted with the problem of the hostility of the Protestants to any change, and the willingness of Britain to make concessions to them. It is only through the destruction of the institutions of sectarianism that the Protestant workers will see that further reliance on the old form of privilege and domination is useless, and some of them will be detached from their reactionary mythology. But in order for the reunification of Ireland to become a practical reality, these changes have to take place in the South as well.

Fianna Fail, the governing party in the South, came to power because Sinn Fein refused to participate in the Irish Parliament, and Republicans had no other political alternatives. High tariff walls created a weak and inadequate Irish industry, laying the basis for subsequent expansion through foreign investment and takeover.

Basically, it was impossible to create an independent economy in the 26 counties because the chief economic fact in Irish history has been the isolation of the industry in Ulster from the South. This isolation, imposed by the 1801 Act of Union, was "legalized" by partition in 1921.

The failure to create an independent Irish economy prevented the development of the Irish working class which has only recently become a majority of the population. It also meant that they worked in undeveloped, fragmented industry and the most capable young people were forced to

emigrate to Britain and North America.

The workers and small farmers in the South have been unable to struggle effectively against any of the effects of partition, because there had never been any means whereby they could get at the roots of the problem. But now the struggle in the North can make the continuation of partition impossible, if only the mass of the Irish people are mobilized to that end. And the burning of the British Embassy in Dublin is evidence that this may be occurring.

So far, neither the trade union movement nor the Labour party have developed an adequate strategy for linking up the struggle in the North and South. And despite the heroic role of the Provisionals in the armed struggle in the North, they are still hampered by a lack of political activity in both the North and South. Because they place the military struggle, to expell British imperialism from the North, they underestimate the importance of political mobilization either of the Northern minority or the southern masses.

On the other hand, the Officials, understanding that for Republicanism to be relevant to the people, they must be involved in the struggles of the people, and that is why they have been active in housing struggles, labour strikes and political campaigns, as well as the Civil Rights movement in the North.

But now, the split in the IRA appears to be ending as the Provisionals move towards a more socialist analysis, calling for "not merely the complete overthrow of English rule in Ireland, but also the setting up of a democratic socialist republic. The means of production, distribution and exchange must be controlled by the people and administered democratically."

The IRA's bombings and sniper-attacks are not isolated acts of frustrated men (as perhaps they were in the 1956-62 campaign), but controlled violence which channels the anger of a very unified community in a conscious political direction.

This point is underscored by the fact that the Protestant right-wing now resorts to provocateur violence (bombs in pubs or department stores) in a cynical attempt to discredit the IRA. But the Republicans have earned popular trust (except among the Army, of course) and their word is accepted when they claim credit for or dissociate from particular acts of violence.

At the moment, the British Cabinet is reported to be split over peace proposals for Northern Ireland, proposals like adding a token Catholic to the Stormont Cabinet, or reducing the army's weekly arrest quota.

But it is doubtful whether token reforms, handed out by the British government, will mean much to anybody in Ulster.

The struggle in Ireland is a war of national liberation, and inevitably, that struggle can only be resolved by the Irish people themselves.



